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Brigham Young

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# LIFE OF
# BRIGHAM YOUNG;

OR,

# UTAH AND HER FOUNDERS.

*By EDWARD W. TULLIDGE.*

NEW YORK.

1876.

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# PREFACE.

That the matters embodied in the chapters of this book are eminently worthy an enduring record will, I think, be cheerfully conceded.

Of myself let me say, if the manner in which I have handled the subject betrays my love for the Mormon people, I confess it. But it must not be forgotten that I have been, for many years, an apostate, and cannot be justly charged with a spirit of Mormon propagandism. Rather have I striven to treat the subject with an artist's fidelity, and with the earnestness of one concerned.

EDWARD W. TULLIDGE.

*Salt Lake City.*

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# CHAPTER I.

## THE PROPHET AND HIS FULFILLER. A NEW DISPENSATION. THE EMPIRE-FOUNDING SAINTS.

At distant periods, as the centuries roll, Providence raises up a rare class of men to found empires and open new dispensations, thereby giving fresh life to the body of society and new forms to its institutions. Most fitly are they called men of destiny. None of the world's great characters stand out bolder in this type than do Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. They show a striking resemblance to Moses and Mohammed, two of the greatest religious empire-founders the world has yet seen. Indeed, in his lifetime, the Mormon prophet was styled the Mohammed of the West; and scarcely had Brigham Young succeeded him in the leadership of the Mormon people, ere he was classed with the immortal law-giver of Israel. Scarcely better does the following, from Thomas Carlyle, on Mohammed and his mission, apply to the Eastern prophet and his followers than to Joseph Smith and his disciples:

"This Mohammed, then, we will in no wise "consider as an inanity and theatricality, a poor "conscious ambitious schemer; we cannot conceive "him so. The rude message he delivered was a "real one withal; an earnest confused voice from "the unknown deep. The man's words were not "false nor his workings here below: no inanity and "simulacrum; a fiery mass of life cast up from the "great bosom of nature herself, to *kindle* the world; "the world's maker had ordained it so. * * * "This deep-hearted son of the wilderness, with his "beaming black eyes, and open, social, deep nature, "had other thoughts in him than ambition. A silent "great soul; he was one of those who cannot *but* "be in earnest; whom nature herself appointed to "be sincere. While others walk in formulas and "hearsays, contented enough to dwell there, this "man could not screen himself in formulas; he was "alone with his own soul and the reality of things. "The great mystery of existence, as I said, glared "in upon him, with its terrors, with its splendors. "* * * * The word of such a man is as a "voice direct from nature's own heart. Men do "and must listen to that as to nothing else; all "else is as wind in comparison. * * * The "word this man spoke has been the life guidance "of one hundred and eighty millions of men these "twelve hundred years. These hundred and eighty "millions were made by God as well as we. A "greater number of God's creatures believe in Mohammed's word, at this hour, than in any other "word whatever. Are we to suppose that it was "a miserable piece of legerdemain, this which so "many creatures of the Almighty had lived by and "died by? I, for my part, cannot form any such "supposition. I will believe most things sooner "than that. One would be entirely at a loss what "to think of this world at all, if quackery so grew "and were sanctioned here."

Had Carlyle designed this philosophical view for the Mormon prophet and his people it could not have been more happily expressed. True, Mormonism has not yet survived the action of centuries;, it has not yet become a mighty empire; nor yet have countless millions lived and died by the faith; yet possibly it is destined to quite as markedly affect the world's career. It is the only absolute religion of modern times. No other, except the Mormon apostles, have even attempted, within a thousand years, to open an entirely new dispensation. In this sense it is the first religion that has sprung from the anglo-saxon race. Very properly its prophet arose in America. America may affect to be scandalized by the fact, but the fact will remain, that Joseph Smith is the first and only great national prophet who has arisen in the new world. He is emphatically the prophet of America. Indeed, another like him could not come to-day. In the presence of a wide-spreading infidelistic spiritualism, a prophet, with a divine revelation and a new dispensation, would not even have the potency of a fresh sensation. He came but just in time to come at all; and by coming before the advent of "modern spiritualism" he found an opportunity for his mission. Nor should America be pained over the event. One of her greatest thinkers has said that Mormonism is the only religion of force of modern times,—the only religion of force since the rise of Mohammed. Neither did Mohammedanism, nor Christianity, during the first fifty years of their respective careers, accomplish anything more wonderful than has Mormonism accomplished in the first fifty years of its career. It should be remembered, too, that the mission of the latter has been in the nineteenth century, among the superior races, in England and America. In the coming time it may be proven that this age could have well taken some pride in its offspring; for if there be sound philosophy in the maxim that God is in the world's success, God must be in a successful Mormonism.

Of the Mormon people, it should be strongly marked that they are not a sect; not a mere community of church-builders; but religious empire founders. This is an extraordinary character-cast, but Joseph Smith, Brigham Young and their disciples have dared to assume it. Hence they have originated and founded new religious and social institutions as startling as they are peculiar. This has naturally provoked antagonism, and brought upon them great persecutions; yet we should no more blame the age for its antagonism to Mormonism than the age should blame the Mormons for their fidelity to their mission. Let us accept this "irrepressible conflict" understandingly and without malice. If Mormonism prevail we shall ultimately see its peculiar problems outwrought to solution; if Mormonism fail, there is no God in it; let it go to the wall. But let the oppressor beware. Even the United States Government has been no more successful in its crusades against the Mormons than were Missouri and Illinois. President Grant, though he has stretched out his arm all the day long against them, has been as impotent as was President Buchanan, who made war—actual war—upon them, and then begged of them for peace. God was in those successes! God was not in those failures!

It is impossible to imagine a man more fit to succeed Joseph Smith than Brigham Young; and he was as much a necessity to the Mormon mission and programme as was Joseph himself. They are as two halves of one whole.

It was thought that when Joseph Smith was killed the Mormon work would die out. Not unlikely this expectation helped much to bring about the tragedy of his end. And so, according to ordinary probabilities, it would have died out, or been crushed out, and the Mormon church scattered to the four winds, had not a man arisen fully the equal of Joseph Smith; not like him in type, but his other half,—the *fulfiller* of the prophet. It is evident that the man required to execute such a mission and work as the Mormon prophet had laid down, was one having the real empire-founding genius, and that, too, of an extraordinary cast. It was not remarkable that, on the martyrdom of the Prophet, his chief apostle should take the leadership of the church; but that he should have been equal to the task of holding the community together, conducting them through their exodus to the Rocky Mountains, consolidating the impetuous forces and agencies that his predecessor had thrown into the work, building up a powerful territory of the Union, founding two hundred and fifty cities, and preserving his people through a strange and eventful history, is quite in keeping with the idea of a Western Mohammed in the nineteenth century.

# CHAPTER II.

## THE MORMON EXODUS. BRIGHAM YOUNG AS THE MODERN MOSES.

The period of his life that seems the most proper in which to introduce Brigham Young in action to the reader, is when he succeeded the Mormon prophet and led his people in the famous exodus from Nauvoo. Here we have him at once in the character of the modern Moses. It is no fanciful conceit of the author to thus style him to-day, after he and his people have built up a State fabric, with three hundred cities and settlements, networked with railroads and the electric telegraph; for at that very period his name rang throughout America, and reverberated in Europe, as the Moses of the "latter days," and the Mormons were likened to the children of Israel in the wilderness.

Finding before his death that the issue had come—that he and his people could no longer remain in the land of the "gentile,"—the Prophet planned the removal of the Mormons to the Pacific slope; but, closing his career in martyrdom, the execution of the design fell upon Brigham Young.

Towards the close of the year 1845, the leaders, in council, resolved to remove at once and seek a second Zion in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains. It was too clear that they could no longer dwell among so-called civilized men. They knew that they must soon seek refuge with the children of the forest; and as for humanity, they must seek it in the breasts of savages, for there was scarcely a smouldering spark of it left for them, either in Missouri or Illinois, nor indeed anywhere within the borders of the United States. That this was exactly the case appears from the fact that before the Mormons undertook their exodus, they appealed, but appealed in vain, not only to the President of the United States, but to the Governors of all the States, excepting Missouri and Illinois, addressing to each a personal prayer, asking of them their influence to prevent the ruthless extermination of twenty thousand native-born American citizens, or, at least, their favor in peacefully removing them to Oregon or California. Moreover, they had, during the lifetime of the Prophet, sent a delegation to Washington,—Joseph Smith himself going to ask redress of the wrongs of his people. It was then that President Van Buren made his famous reply: "Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing "for you!"

The appeal thereafter made to President Polk, and to the Governors, will be found in another chapter; suffice it here to say, that it availed the Mormons nothing. They had now no destiny but in the West. If they tarried longer their blood would fertilize the lands which they had tilled, and their wives and daughters would be ravished within the sanctuary of the homes which their industrious hands had built. Their people were by a thousand ancestral links joined to the pilgrim fathers who founded this nation, and with the heroes who won for it independence, and it was as the breaking of their heartstrings to rend them from their fatherland, and send them as exiles into the territory of a foreign power. But there was no alternative between a Mormon exodus or a Mormon massacre.

Sorrowfully, but resolutely, the Saints prepared to leave; trusting in the providence which had thus far taken them through their darkest days, and multiplied upon their heads compensation for their sorrows. But the anti-Mormons seemed eager for the questionable honor of exterminating them. In September of the year 1845, delegates from nine counties met in convention, at Carthage, over the Mormon troubles, and sent four commissioners: General Hardin, Commander of the State Militia; Senator Douglass; W. B. Warren; and J. A. Mc Dougal, to demand the removal of the Mormons to the Rocky Mountains. The commissioners held a council with the twelve apostles at Nauvoo, and the Mormon leaders promptly agreed to remove their people at once, a movement, as observed, which they had been considering for several years. Now they were brought face to face with the issue. Brigham Young sought not to evade it; but, with his characteristic method, resolved to grapple with the tremendous undertaking of the exodus of a people. Knowing well, as everybody to-day knows, that this extraordinary man is no fanatic, nor even a religious enthusiast, but a cool-headed, strong-willed leader, who undertakes nothing but what he feels that he can execute, if faithfully supported by his brethren, this act will be perpetuated in history as one of the marvels in the lives of the world's great characters; for on that exodus hung, not only the future of Brigham Young, but the very destiny of the Mormon people. Probably it was a sensible comprehension of this fact that prompted General Hardin to ask of the twelve apostles, at the council in question, what guarantee they would give that the Mormons would fulfill their part of the covenant? To this Brigham replied, with a strong touch of common-sense severity, "*You have our all as the* "*guarantee; what more can we give beyond the* "*guarantee of our names?*" Senator Douglass observed, "Mr. Young is right." But Gen. Hardin knew that the people of Illinois, and especially the anti-Mormons, would look to him more than to Douglass, who had been styled the Mormon-made senator; so the commissioners asked for a written covenant, of a nature to relieve themselves of much of the responsibility, and addressed the following:

"NAUVOO, Oct 1st, 1845.

"*To the President and Council of the Church at Nauvoo:*

Having had a free and full conversation with you this day, in reference to your proposed removal from this country, together with the members of your church, we have to request you to submit the facts and intentions stated to us in the said conversations to writing, in order that we may lay them before the Governor and people of the State. We hope that by so doing it will have a tendency to allay the excitement at present existing in the public mind.

"We have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

"Respectfully yours,

"JOHN J. HARDIN,
"W. B. WARREN,
"S. A. DOUGLASS,
"J. A. MCDOUGAL."

The covenant itself is too precious to be lost to history; here it is:

"NAUVOO, ILL., Oct. 1st, 1845.

"*To Gen. J. Hardin, W. B. Warren, S. A. Douglass and J. A. McDougal:*

MESSRS:—In reply to your letter of this date, requesting us 'to submit the facts and intentions stated by us in writing, in order that you may lay them before the Governor and people of the State,' we would refer you to our communication of the 24th ult. to the 'Quincy committee,' &c., a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

In addition to this we would say that we had commenced making arrangements to remove from the country, previous to the recent disturbances; that we have four companies, of one hundred families each, and six more companies now organizing, of the same number each, preparatory to a removal.

That one thousand families, including the twelve, the high council, the trustees and general authorities of the Church, are fully determined to remove in the Spring, independent of the contingencies of selling our property; and that this company will comprise from five to six thousand souls.

That the Church, as a body, desire to remove with us, and will, if sales can be effected, so as to raise the necessary means.

That the organization of the Church we represent is such that there never can exist but one head or presidency at any one time. And all good members wish to be with the organization; and all are determined to remove to some distant point where we shall neither infringe nor be infringed upon, so soon as time and means will permit.

That we have some hundreds of farms and some two thousand houses for sale in this city and county, and we request all good citizens to assist in the disposal of our property.

That we do not expect to find purchasers for our temple and other public buildings; but we are willing to rent them to a respectable community who may inhabit the city.

That we wish it distinctly understood, that although we may not find purchasers for our property, we will not sacrifice it, nor give it away or suffer it illegally to be wrested from us.

That we do not intend to sow any wheat this Fall, and should we all sell, we shall not put in any more crops of any description.

That as soon as practicable, we will appoint committees for this city, La Harpe, Macedonia, Bear Creek, and all necessary places in the county, to give information to purchasers.

That if these testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy any people that we are in earnest, we will soon give them a sign that cannot be mistaken—WE WILL LEAVE THEM.

In behalf of the council, respectfully yours, &c.,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, *President.*
WILLARD RICHARDS, *Clerk.*

The covenant satisfied the commissioners, and for a time satisfied also the anti-Mormons.

But their enemies were impatient for the Mormons to be gone. They would not keep even their own conditions of the covenant, much less were they disposed to lend a helping hand to lighten the burden of this thrice-afflicted people in their exodus, that their mutual bond might be fulfilled—a bond already sealed with the blood of their prophet, and of his brother their patriarch. So the high council issued a circular to the Church, Jan. 20, 1846, in which they stated the intention of their community to locate "in some good valley in the neighborhood "of the Rocky Mountains, where they will infringe "on no one, and not be likely to be infringed upon." "Here we will make a resting place," they said, "until we can determine a place for a permanent "location. * * * We also further declare, for the satisfaction of some who have concluded that our grievances have alienated us from "our country, that our patriotism has not been "overcome by fire, by sword, by daylight nor by "midnight assassination which we have endured, "neither have they alienated us from the institu- "tions of our country."

Then came the subject of service on the side of their country, should war break out between it and a foreign country, as was indicated at that time by our growing difficulties with Mexico. The anti-Mormons took advantage of this war prospect, and, not satisfied with their act of expulsion, they raised the cry, "The Mormons intend to join the enemy!" This was as cruel as the seething of the kid in its mother's milk, but the high council answered it with the homely anecdote of the Quaker's characteristic action against the pirates in defence of the ship on which he was a passenger, when he cut away the rope in the hands of the boarder, observing: "If "thee wants that piece of rope I will help thee to "it." "The pirate fell," said the circular, "and a "watery grave was his resting place." Their country had been anything but a kind protecting parent to the Saints, but at least, in its hour of need, they would do as much as the conscientious Quaker did in the defence of the ship. There was, too, a grim humor and a quiet pathos in the telling, that was more touchingly reproachful than would have been a storm of denunciations. In the same spirit the high council climaxed their circular thus:

> We agreed to leave the country for the sake of peace, upon the condition that no more persecutions be instituted against us. In good faith we have labored to fulfill this agreement. Governor Ford has also done his duty to further our wishes in this respect, but there are some who are unwilling that we should have an existence anywhere; but our destinies are in the hands of God, and so are also theirs.

Early in February, 1846, the Saints began to cross the Mississippi in flat boats, old lighters, and a number of skiffs, forming, says the President's Journal, "quite a fleet," which was at work night and day under the direction of the police, commanded by their captain, Hosea Stout.

On the 15th of the same month, Brigham Young, with his family, accompanied by Willard Richards and family, and George A. Smith, also crossed the Mississippi from Nauvoo, and proceeded to the "Camps of Israel," as they were styled by the

Saints, which waited on the west side of the river, a few miles on the way, for the coming of their leader. These were to form the vanguard of the migrating Saints, who were to follow from the various States where they were located, or had organized themselves into flourishing branches and conferences; and soon after this period also began to pour across the Atlantic that tide of emigration from Europe, which has since swelled to the number of about one hundred thousand souls.

As yet the "Camps of Israel" were unorganized, awaiting the coming of the President, on Sugar Creek, which he and his companions reached at dusk. The next day he was busy organizing the company, "acting the part of a father to every-" body," and on the following, which was February 17th, at 9.50 A. M., the brethren of the camp had assembled near the bridge, to receive their initiatory instructions, and take the word of command from their chosen leader.

In Nauvoo the Saints had heard the magic cry, "to your tents, O, Israel!" And in sublime faith and trust, such as history scarcely gives an example of, they had obeyed, ready to follow their leader, whithersoever he might direct their pilgrim feet. True, they possessed unbounded confidence in him, and, if possible, still greater confidence in their destiny as a people, but the task before him was almost superhuman, and a friendly looker-on might have well been pardoned had he paused ere he pronounced the man Brigham equal to the task, for that would have declared him to be fully the equal of Moses in a strictly Mosaic work.

Brigham leaped into a wagon and sent his clarion voice ringing its first note of command. The dullest ear in the camp was awakened with the cry, "Attention, the whole Camp of Israel." There was no prosaic prelude of wrongs—no harangue on their perilous journey, such as a demagogue might have made; nor was it merely the inspiring method of a great man, who, trusting in himself, sought to carry his people to a triumphant issue by the magic of his own genius. It was more than that. It was the man of destiny with the spirit of his mission in him; a man greater at that moment than he himself knew or aimed to be; a man greater than even to-day, after all his successes, he sees himself, at that supreme moment of his life.

Here, from the leader's private journal, is the simple telling of the epic of that day: "On the "17th, at 9.50 A. M., all the brethren of the camp "assembled near the bridge, when I arose in a "wagon, and cried with a loud voice, 'Attention, "the whole Camp of Israel!'"

This is truly Napoleonic in its commanding grip; *but this homely telling!* It is treating an exodus, which writers of every age have confessed to be the grandest of epic subjects, as an ordinary every-day affair.

The Mormons were setting out, under their leader, from the borders of civilization, with their wives and their children, in broad daylight, before the very eyes of ten thousand of their enemies, who would have preferred their utter destruction to their "flight," notwithstanding they had enforced it by treaties outrageous beyond description, inasmuch as the exiles were nearly all American born, many of them tracing their ancestors to the very founders of the nation. They had to make a journey of fifteen hundred miles over trackless prairies, sandy deserts and rocky mountains, through bands of warlike Indians, who had been driven, exasperated, towards the West; and at last, to seek out and build up their Zion in valleys then unfruitful, in a solitary region where the foot of the white man had scarcely trod. These, too, were to be followed by the aged, the halt, the sick and the blind, the poor, who were to be helped by their little less destitute brethren, and the delicate young mother with her new-born babe at her breast, and still worse, for they were not only threatened with the extermination of the poor remnant at Nauvoo, but news had arrived that the parent-government designed to pursue their pioneers with troops, take from them their arms, and scatter them, that they might perish by the way, and leave their bones bleaching in the wilderness.

Yet did Brigham Young deal with the exodus of his people as simply in its opening as he did in his daily journal record of it. So, indeed, did the entire Mormon community. They all seemed as oblivious of the stupendous meaning of an exodus, as did the first workers on railroads of the vast meaning to civilization of that wonder of the age. A people trusting in their God, the Mormons were, in their mission, superior to the greatest human trials, and in their childlike faith equal to almost superhuman undertakings. To-day, however, with the astonishing change which has come over the spirit of the scene, on the whole Pacific slope, since the Mormons pioneered our nation towards the setting sun, the picture of a modern Israel in their exodus has almost faded from the popular mind; but, in the centuries hence, when the passing events of this age shall have each taken their proper place, the historian will point back to that exodus in the New World of the West, as one quite worthy to rank with the immortal exodus of the children of Israel.

# CHAPTER III.

A LAW-GIVER IN THE WILDERNESS. THE MORMONS THE FIRST AMERICAN EMIGRANTS TO CALIFORNIA AND THE DISCOVERERS OF THE GOLD. THE SHIP "BROOKLYN" SAILS FROM NEW YORK TO SAN FRANCISCO WITH SIX HUNDRED MORMONS. PROPOSITIONS OF POLITICAL DEMAGOGUES TO SHARE THE LANDS OF CALIFORNIA WITH THE SAINTS. PRESIDENT POLK A SILENT PARTY TO THE SCHEME. THREAT TO INTERCEPT THE PIONEERS IF THEY REFUSED. A NOBLE RESOLVE. PETITION TO THE GOVERNOR OF IOWA TERRITORY. THE MONUMENT WE LEAVE.

It is due to the compeers of Brigham Young to say that it was their consistency, devotion and forcefulness of character that enabled him to lead the Mormons through their wonderful exodus. As seen in the previous chapter, Brigham Young showed his fitness when he leapt into the wagon, and, with a matchless might of will and self-confidence, mastered the situation. Then came not an oration, but practical dealing with the organization, and counseling of the "Camp of Israel," to prepare for an unparalleled journey.

In this simple but thorough manner, the great leader set about his stupendous task; but he closed his first day's orders to the congregation with a real touch of the law-giver's method. He said, "we will "have no laws we cannot keep, but we will have "order in the camp. If any want to live in peace "when we have left this place, they must toe the "mark." He then called upon all who wanted to go with the camp to raise their right hands. "All "hands flew up at the bidding," says the record.

After the dismissal of the congregation, the President took several of the twelve with him half a mile up a valley east of the camp and held a council. A letter was read from Mr. Samuel Brannan, of New York, with a copy of a curious agreement between him and a Mr. A. G. Benson, which had been sent west, under cover, for the authorities to sign.

To make clear to the reader a story, which now belongs to our national history, in connection with the first settling of California, it must be observed that this Brannan, once known as one of the millionaires of the "Golden State," had been the editor of *The Prophet*, published at New York. He seems to have been one of those sagacious men who saw in Mormonism the means to their own ends. At the date of the exodus he was in charge of a company of Saints, bound for the Pacific coast, in the ship *Brooklyn*. They took all necessary outfit for the first settlers of a new country, including a printing press, upon which was afterwards struck off the first regular newspaper of California. This company was, also, the earliest company of American emigrants that arrived in the bay of San Francisco, and really the pioneer emigration of American citizens to the Golden State, for Fremont's volunteers cannot be considered in that character. Indeed, it is not a little singular that the Mormons were not only the pioneers of Utah, but also the pioneers of California, the builders of the first houses, the starters of the first papers, and, what has contributed so much to the growth of the Pacific slope, the men who discovered the gold, under Mr. Marshal, the foreman of Sutter's mills. These facts, however, the people of California seem somewhat to hide in the histories of their State.

Relative to the sailing of this company, Samuel Brannan had written to the Mormon authorities. Ex-Postmaster Amos Kendall, and the said Benson, who seems to have been Kendall's agent, with others of political influence, represented to Brannan that, unless the leaders of the Church signed an agreement with them, to which the President of the United States, he said, was a "silent party," the government would not permit the Mormons to proceed on their journey westward. This agreement required the pioneers "to transfer to A. G. Benson "& Co., and to their heirs and assigns, the odd "numbers of all the lands and town lots they may "acquire in the country where they may settle." In case they refused to sign the agreement the President, it was said, would issue a proclamation, setting forth that it was the intention of the Mormons to take sides with either Mexico or Great Britain against the United States, and order them to be disarmed and dispersed. Both the letter and contract are very characteristic, and the worldly-minded man's poor imitation of the earnest religionist has probably often since amused Mr. Brannan himself. In his letter he said:

"I declare to all that you are not going to California, but Oregon, and that my information is official. Kendall has also learned that we have chartered the ship *Brooklyn*, and that Mormons are going out in her; and, it is thought, she will be searched for arms, and, if found, they will be taken from us; and if not, an order will be sent to Commodore Stockton on the Pacific to search our vessel before we land. Kendall will be in the city next Thursday again, and then an effort will be made to bring about a reconciliation. I will make you acquainted with the result before I leave."

The "reconciliation" between the Government and the Mormons, as the reader will duly appreciate, was to be effected by a division of the spoils among political chiefs, including, if Brannan and Kendall are to be relied on, the President of the United States. The following letter of fourteen days later date is too rich and graphic to be lost to the public:

"NEW YORK, Jan. 26, '46.

DEAR BROTHER YOUNG:

I haste to lay before your honorable body the result of my movements since I wrote you last, which was from this city, stating some of my discoveries, in relation to the contemplated movements of the General Government in opposition to our removal.

I had an interview with Amos Kendall, in company with Mr. Benson, which resulted in a compromise, the conditions of which you will learn by reading the contract between them and us, which I shall forward by this mail. I shall also leave a copy of the same with Elder Appleby, who was present when it was signed. Kendall is now our friend, and will use his influence in our behalf, in connection with twenty-five of the most prominent demagogues in the country. You will be permitted to pass out of the States unmolested. Their counsel is to go well armed, but keep them well secreted from the rabble.

I shall select the most suitable spot on the Bay of San Francisco for the location of a commercial city. When I sail, which will be next Saturday, at one o'clock, I shall hoist a flag with 'Oregon' on it.

Immediately on the reception of this letter, you must write to Mr. A. G. Benson, and let him know whether you are willing to coincide with the contract I have made for our deliverance. I am aware it is a covenant with death, but we know that God is able to break it, and will do it. The Children of Israel, in their escape from Egypt, had to make covenants for their safety, and leave it for God to break them; and the Prophet has said, 'As it was then, so shall it be in the last days.' And I have been led by a remarkable train of circumstances to say, amen; and I feel and hope you will do the same.

Mr. Benson thinks the twelve should leave and get out of the country first, and avoid being arrested, if it is a possible thing; but if you are arrested, you will find a staunch friend in him; and you will find friends, and that a host, to deliver you from their hands. If any of you are arrested, don't be tried west of the Alleghany Mountains; in the East you will find friends that you little think of.

It is the prayer of the Saints in the East night and day for your safety, and it is mine first in the morning and the last in the evening.

I must now bring my letter to a close. Mr. Benson's address is No. 39 South Street; and the sooner you can give him answer the better it will be for us. He will spend one month in Washington to sustain you, and he will do it, no mistake. But everything must be kept silent as death on our part, names of parties in particular.

I now commit this sheet to the post, praying that Israel's God may prevent it from falling into the hands of wicked men. You will hear from me again on the day of sailing, if it is the Lord's will, amen. Your's truly, a friend and brother in God's kingdom,

S. Brannan."

The contract in question was signed by Samuel Brannan and A. G. Benson, and witnessed by W. I. Appleby. To it is this postscript:

This is only a copy of the original, which I have filled out. It is no gammon, but will be carried through, if you say, amen. It was drawn up by Kendall's own hand; but no person must be known but Mr. Benson.

The following simple minute, in Brigham Young's private journal, is a fine set-off to these documents:

Samuel Brannan urged upon the council the signing of the document. The council considered the subject, and concluded that as our trust was in God, and that, as we looked to him for protection, we would not sign any such unjust and oppressive agreement. This was a plan of political demagogues to rob the Latter-day Saints of millions, and compel them to submit to it by threats of Federal bayonets.

No matter what view the reader may take of the Mormons and their leaders, relative to the intrinsic value to the world of their social and theological problems, no intelligent mind can help being struck with the towering superiority of men trusting in their God, in the supremest hour of trial, compared with the foremost politicians in the country, including a President of the United States, as illustrated in the above example. It is charitably to be hoped, however, that President Polk was a very "silent party" to this scheme, and that his name was merely used to give potency to the promise of protection, and to the threat that the General Government would intercept the Mormons in their exodus.

Little did the political demagogues of the time, and these land speculators, understand the Mormon people, and still less the character of the men who were leading them; nor did "Elder Brannan" know them much better. From the beginning, the Mormons never gave up an inch of their chosen ground, never as a people consented to a compromise, nor allowed themselves to be turned aside from their purposes, nor wavered in their fidelity to their faith. They would suffer expulsion, or make an exodus if need be, yet ever, as in this case, have they answered, "Our trust is in God. We look to him for protection." So far, "Elder Brannan" understood them; hence his profession of faith that the Lord would overrule and break the "covenant with death." But these men did wiser and better. They never made the covenant, but calmly defied the consequences, which they knew too well might soon follow. Not even as much as to reply to Messrs. Benson, Kendall & Co. did they descend from the pinnacle of their integrity.

But, be it not for a moment thought that the Mormon leaders did not fully comprehend their critical position in all its aspects. A homely anecdote of the apostle George A. Smith will illustrate those times. At a council in Nauvoo, of the men who were to act as the captains of the people in that famous exodus, one after the other brought up difficulties in their path until their prospect was without one poor speck of daylight. The good nature of "George A." was provoked at last, when he sprang up and observed with his quaint humor that had now a touch of the grand in it, "If there is "no God in Israel we are a 'sucked in' set of "fellows. But I am going to take my family and "cross the river, and the Lord will open the way." He was one of the first to set out on that miraculous journey to the Rocky Mountains.

Having resolved to trust in their God and themselves, quietly setting aside the politicians, Brigham and several of the twelve left the "Camp of Israel" for a few days, and returned to bid farewell to their beloved Nauvoo, and hold a parting service in the temple. This was the last time Brigham Young ever saw that sacred monument of the Mormons' devotion.

The Pioneers had now been a month on Sugar Creek, and during the time had, of course, consumed a vast amount of the provisions, indeed nearly all, which had been gathered up for their journey. Their condition, however, was not without its compensation; for it checked the movements of the mob, among whom the opinion prevailed that the outfit of the pioneers was so utterly insufficient that, in a short time, they would break in pieces and scatter. Moreover, it was mid-winter Up to the date of their starting from this first camping ground, detachments continued to join them, crossing the Mississippi, from Nauvoo, on the ice; but before starting they addressed the following memorial:

" *To His Excellency Governor of the Territory of Iowa.*

HONORED SIR:

The time is at hand in which several thousand free citizens of this great Republic are to be driven from their peaceful homes and firesides, their property and farms, and their dearest constitutional rights, to wander in the barren plains and sterile mountains of western wilds, and linger out their lives in wretched exile, far beyond the pale of professed civilization, or else be exterminated upon their own lands by the people and authorities of the State of Illinois.

As life is sweet, we have chosen banishment rather than death, but, sir, the terms of our banishment are so rigid, that we have not sufficient time allotted us to make the necessary preparations to encounter the hardships and difficulties of these dreary and uninhabited regions. We have not time allowed us to dispose of our property, dwellings and farms, consequently many of us will have to leave them unsold, without the means of procuring the necessary provisions, clothing, teams, &c., to sustain us but a short distance beyond the settlements;

hence our persecutors have placed us in very unpleasant circumstances.

To stay is death by 'fire and sword;' to go into banishment unprepared, is death by starvation. But yet, under these heart-rending circumstances, several hundred of us have started upon our dreary journey, and are now encamped in Lee County, Iowa, suffering much from the intensity of the cold. Some of us are already without food, and others have barely sufficient to last a few weeks: hundreds of others must shortly follow us in the same unhappy condition, therefore:

We, the presiding authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as a committee in behalf of several thousand suffering exiles, humbly ask Your Excellency to shield and protect us in our constitutional rights, while we are passing through the Territory over which you have jurisdiction. And, should any of the exiles be under the necessity of stopping in this Territory for a time, either in settled or unsettled parts, for the purpose of raising crops, by renting farms or upon public lands, or to make the necessary preparations for their exile in any lawful way, we humbly petition Your Excellency to use an influence and power in our behalf, and thus preserve thousands of American citizens, together with their wives and children, from intense sufferings, starvation and death. And your petitioners will ever pray.

In the diary of the President is a sort of a valedictory, written before starting on their journey from Sugar Creek, which concludes thus: "Our " homes, gardens, orchards, farms, streets, bridges, " mills, public halls, magnificent temple and other " public improvements, we leave as a monument " of our patriotism, industry, economy, upright- " ness of purpose and integrity of heart, and as

"a living testimony of the falsehood and wicked-
"ness of those who charge us with disloyalty to the
"constitution of our country, idleness and dis-
"honesty."

# CHAPTER IV.

THE MORMONS ON THE MARCH. THEIR ORGANIC CONDITION. THEY MOVE AS A NATION. A PROPHET AND LIEUT.-GENERAL. MORMON LIFE ON THE JOURNEY. THEY PRAISE THE LORD IN THE SONG AND IN THE DANCE. THEY BUILD TEMPORARY CITIES ON THE WAY. A SENSATION FROM THE U. S. GOVERNMENT.

At home or abroad, in their very dispersions as much as in their gathering, the Mormons have been organic beyond any people known to history. Organism, indeed, is the essential manifestation of their genius; so now, even in their exodus, they were still strictly a community. Their proverb is, "Where the Presidency and Twelve are there is the "Church." They were journeying to the mountains as a little nation. At their head was not only a prophet but a lieutenant-general. The rank had originally been conferred on Joseph Smith by the Legislature of Illinois, when it granted the charter to the city of Nauvoo and to the Nauvoo legion. After the martyrdom, Brigham Young succeeded to the rank of lieutenant-general. Here is the extraordinary commission:

"THOMAS FORD, *Governor of the State of Illinois.*

*To all to whom these Presents shall come greeting:*

Know ye that Brigham Young, having been duly elected to the office of Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion of the Militia of the State of Illinois, I, Thomas Ford, Governor of said State, for and in behalf of the people of said State, do commission him Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion, to take rank from the 31st day of August, 1844. He is, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duties of said office by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging; and I do strictly require all officers under his command to be obedient to his orders; and he is to obey such orders and directions as he shall receive from time to time, from the Commander-in-chief or his superior officer.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of State to be affixed. Done at Springfield, this 24th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-four, and of the independence of the United States the sixty-ninth.

By the Governor, THOMAS FORD.

THOMAS CAMPBELL, *Sec'y of State.*"

It is a singular fact that, after Washington, Joseph Smith was the first man in America who held the rank of lieutenant-general, and that Brigham Young was the next. In reply to a comment of the author upon this fact, Brigham Young said: " I was never much of a military man. The com-" mission has since been abrogated by the State of " Illinois, but if Joseph had lived when the war "broke out, he would have become commander-in-"chief of the United States armies."

It was the marvellous will and almost superhuman energy of the man that, in 1846, inspired the Mormons in their exodus from civilization. The organic character of Brigham Young which, in moving a people and building up a new society, has shown itself to be quite the equal of the great Napoleon's and decidedly more preservative, was manifesting itself in the very best methods. It was evident to the lookers on that the man was attempting to show to modern times the wonderful spectacle of a migrating nation.

At about noon, on the 1st of March, 1846, the "Camp of Israel" began to move, and at four o'clock nearly four hundred wagons were on the way travelling in a north-westerly direction. At night, they camped again on Sugar Creek, having advanced five miles. Scraping away the snow they pitched their tents upon the hard frozen ground; and, after building large fires in front, they made themselves as comfortable as possible under the circumstances. Indeed, it is questionable whether any other people in the world could have cozened themselves into a happy state of mind amid such surroundings, with such a past, fresh and bleeding in their memories, and with such a prospect as was before both themselves and the remnant of their brethren left in Nauvoo to the tender mercies of the mob. In his diary Apostle Orson Pratt wrote that night, "Notwithstanding our sufferings, hard-"ships and privations, we are cheerful, and rejoice "that we have the privilege of passing through "tribulation for the truth's sake."

These Mormon pilgrims, who took much consolation on their journey in likening themselves to the pilgrim fathers and mothers of this nation, whose descendants many of them actually were, that night made their beds upon the frozen earth. "After "bowing before our great Creator," wrote Apostle Pratt, "and offering up praise and thanksgiving to "him, and imploring his protection, we resigned "ourselves to the slumbers of the night."

But the weather was more moderate that night than it had been for several weeks previous. At their first encampment the thermometer, at one time, fell 20 deg. below zero, freezing over the great Mississippi. The survivors of that journey will tell you they never suffered so much from the cold in their lives as they did on Sugar Creek. And what of the Mormon women? Around them circles almost a tragic romance. Fancy may find abundant subject for graphic story of the devotion, the suffering, the matchless heroism of the "Sisters," in the telling incident that nine children were born to them the first night they camped out on Sugar Creek, Feb. 5th, 1846. That day they wept their farewells over their beloved city, or in the sanctuary of the temple, in which they had hoped to worship till the end of life, but which they left never to see again; that night suffering nature administered to them the mixed cup of woman's supremest joy and pain.

But it was not prayer alone that sustained these pilgrims. The practical philosophy of their great leader, daily and hourly applied to the exigencies of their case, did almost as much as their own matchless faith to sustain them from the commencement to the end of their journey. With that leader had very properly come to the "Camp of Israel" several of the Twelve and the chief bishops of the church, but he also brought with him a quorum humble in pretensions, yet useful as high priests to the saints in those spirit-saddening days. It was Captain Pitt's brass band. That night the President had the "brethren" and "sisters" out in the dance, and the music was as glad as at a merry-making. Several gentlemen from Iowa gathered to witness the strange interesting scene. They could scarcely believe their own senses when they were told that these were the Mormons in their "flight from civilization," bound they knew not whither, except where God should lead them by the "hand of his servant."

Thus in the song and the dance the Saints praised the Lord. When the night was fine, and supper, which consisted of the most primitive fare, was over, some of the men would clear away the snow, while others bore large logs to the camp fires in anticipation of the jubilee of the evening. Soon, in a sheltered place the blazing fires would roar, and fifty couples, old and young, would join, in the merriest spirit, to the music of the band, or the rival revelry of the solitary fiddle. As they journeyed along, too, strangers constantly visited their camps, and great was their wonderment to see the order, unity and good feeling that prevailed in the midst of the people. By the camp fires they would linger, listening to the music and song; and they fain had taken part in the merriment had not those scenes been as sacred worship in the exodus of a God-fearing people. To fully understand the incidents here narrated, the reader must couple in his mind the idea of an exodus with the idea of an Israelitish jubilee; for it was a jubilee to the Mormons to be delivered from their enemies at any price.

The sagacious reader will readily appreciate the wise method pursued by Brigham Young. Prayers availed much. The hymn and the prayer were never forgotten at the close of the dance, before they dispersed, to make their bed within the shelter of the wagon, or under it, exposed to the cold of those bitter nights. But the dance and the song kept the Mormon pilgrims cheerful and healthy in mind, whereas, had a spirit of gloomy fanaticism been encouraged, such as one might have expected, most likely there would soon have been murmuring in the congregation against their Moses, and the people would have been sighing for the flesh-pots of Egypt. The patriarchal care of Brigham Young over the migrating thousands was also something uncommon. It was extended to every family, every soul; even the very animals had the master friend near to ease and succor them. A thousand anecdotes could be told of that journey to illustrate this. When traveling, or in camp, he was ever looking after the welfare of all. No poor horse or ox even had a tight collar or a bow too small but his eye would see it. Many times did he get out of his vehicle and see that some suffering animal was relieved.

There can be no doubt that the industrious habits of the Mormons, and the semi-communistic character of their camps, enabled them to accomplish on their journey what otherwise would have been impossible. They were almost destitute at the start, but they created resources on the way. Their pioneers and able-bodied men generally took work on farms, split rails, cleared the timber for the new settlers, fenced their lands, built barns and husked their corn. Each night brought them some employment; and, if they laid over for a day or two at their encampment, the country around was busy with their industry. They also scattered for work, some of them going even into Missouri among their ancient enemies to turn to the smiter the "other cheek," while they were earning support for their families.

At one of their first camping grounds, on a ten-acre lot which the pioneer had cleared of timber, they made the acquaintance of its owner, a Dr. Jewett. The worthy doctor was an enthusiast over mesmerism and animal magnetism, so he sought to convert the Mormon leaders to his views. Brigham replied, "I perfectly understand it, doctor. We " believe in the Lord's magnetizing. He magnetized " Belshazzar so that he saw the hand-writing on the " wall." The Mormons, too, had seen the hand-writing on the wall, and were hastening to the mountains.

The citizens of Farmington came over to invite the "Nauvoo band," under Captain Pitt, to come to their village for a concert. There was some music left in the "brethren." They had not forgotten how to sing the "Songs of Zion," so they made the good folks of Farmington merry, and for a time forgot their own sorrows.

As soon as the "Camp of Israel" was fairly on the march, the leader, with the Twelve and the captains, divided it into companies of "hundreds," "fifties," and "tens;" and then the companies took up their line in order, Brigham directing the whole, and bringing up the main body, with the chief care of the families.

The weather was still intensely cold. The pioneers moved in the face of keen-edged northwest winds; they broke the ice to give their cattle drink; they made their beds on the soaked prairie lands; heavy rains and snow by day, and frost at night rendered their situation anything but pleasant. The bark and limbs of trees were the principal food of their animals, and after doubling their teams all day wading through the deep mud, the companies would find themselves at night only a few miles on their journey. They grew sick of this at last, and for three weeks rested on the head-waters of the Chariton, waiting for the freshets to subside.

These incidents of travel were varied by an occasional birth in camp. There was also the death of a lamented lady early on the journey. She was a gentle, intelligent wife of a famous Mormon missionary, Orson Spencer, once a Baptist minister of excellent standing. She had requested the brethren to take her with them. She would not be left behind. Life was too far exhausted by the persecutions to survive the exodus, but she could yet have the honor of dying in that immortal circumstance of her people. Several others of the sisters also died at the very starting. Ah, who shall fitly picture the lofty heroism of the Mormon women!

Amid all this, the remnant of the Saints left at Nauvoo were not forgotten. The President's views of their condition, and the thanksgiving of the pioneers over the deliverance from their Egypt, he told to his brother Joseph in a letter dated, "Richardson's Point, Camp of Israel, fifty-five miles from Nauvoo, March 9." He wrote:

"I feel as though Nauvoo will be filled with all
" manner of abominations. It is no place for the
" Saints, and the Spirit whispers to me that the
" brethren had better get away as fast as they can.
" We pray for you continually. I hope the brethren
" will not have trouble there, but the dark clouds of
" sorrow are gathering fast over that place. It is a
" matter of doubt about any of the Twelve returning
" to Nauvoo very soon. It is not the place for me
" any more, till this nation is scourged by the hand
" of the Almighty, who rules in the heavens. This
" nation shall feel the heavy hand of judgment.
" They have shed the blood of prophets and saints,
" and have been the means of the death of many.
" Do not think, Brother Joseph, that I hate to leave
" my house and home. No, far from that, I am so
" free from bondage at this time, that Nauvoo looks
" like a prison to me. It looks pleasant ahead, but
" dark to look back."

A rumor had reached Nauvoo that there was division in the "Camp of Israel," and that Brigham had been shot at. To this he replied in his letter:

"This is all false. We have the most perfect
" peace that ever a camp had. There is not a word

"of contention through the whole camp. The Lord "is with us, and praised be his name, all is well. "Glory! Hallelujah! And I think I shall feel "more so when we get a few miles farther west."

It was near the Chariton that the organization of the "Camp of Israel" was perfected, on the 27th of March, when Brigham was formally chosen as the President, and captains of hundreds, fifties and tens were appointed.

Thus the Twelve became relieved of their mere secular commands, and were placed at the heads of divisions, in their more apostolic character, as presidents.

The provisioning of the camp was also equally brought under organic management. Henry G. Sherwood was appointed contracting commissary for the first fifty; David D. Yearsley for the second; W. H. Edwards for the third; Peter Haws for the fourth; Samuel Gulley for the fifth; Joseph Warthan for the sixth. Henry G. Sherwood ranked as acting commissary-general. There were also distributing commissaries appointed. Their duties, says the President's diary, "are to make a righteous "distribution of grain and provisions, and such "articles as shall be furnished for the use of the "camp, among their respective fifties."

Thus it will be seen that the "Camp of Israel" now partook very much of a military character, with all of an army's organic efficiency.

The strictest laws of honesty, too, were enjoined on the camps. A case or two will illustrate this. At Chariton a boy shot an otter on the bank of the river, and then discovered that it was caught in a trap. He skinned it and brought it to camp. The trapper came and complained that he had lost several of his traps. The boy was brought up to council, and the next morning he was sent over to the trapper with the skin and the trap, under charge of Col. Markham, who bore a message from the council to the trapper that, if one of his traps was found in the camp, within a thousand miles of that place, it should be sent back to him with the man who took it. Moreover, on the morning of their leaving the Chariton, the camp was searched for the two lost traps. The leader of the Mormon Israelites seemed to have a godly remembrance of the plagues which fell upon the camps of ancient Israel for harboring stolen goods.

About this time also an attempt was made to pass counterfeit money. It was the case of a young man who bought from a Mr. Cochran a yoke of oxen, a cow and a chain, for fifty dollars. Bishop Miller wrote to Brigham to excuse the young man, but to help Cochran to restitution. The President was aroused to great anger. The bishop was severely rebuked, the property ordered to be restored, and the anathemas of the leader from that time were thundered against thieves and "bogus men" and passers of bogus money.

The anti-Mormons have ever delighted to tell stories of this class of the Mormons at Nauvoo, and to affirm that it was because of their crimes they were driven forth from Missouri and Illinois. Some such characters were doubtless among them, and it can well be understood how a few expulsions would breed them, but the fact is just as patent, that no sooner did Brigham get the Mormons into the "wilderness," than he sought to drive out this class from the "Congregation of Israel."

The following is a minute of his diary of a council on the next Sunday, with the twelve bishops and the captains:

"I told them I was satisfied that the course we "were taking would prove to be the salvation, not "only of this camp, but of the saints left behind. "But there had been things done which were "wrong. Some pleaded our suffering from perse- "cution, and the loss of our homes and property, as "a justification for retaliating upon our enemies, "but such a course tends to destroy the kingdom of "God."

This, in a nutshell, seems to be the explanation of many of the objectionable features in Mormon history from the beginning to this day. To expect no retaliation under wrongs such as the Mormons have borne, would be too much to expect from pugnacious human nature; yet have the Mormons, as a people, returned good for evil, even in their expulsions and martyrdoms.

Towards the end of April the camp came to a place the leaders named Garden Grove. Here they determined to form a small settlement, open farms, and make a temporary gathering place for "the poor," while the better prepared were to push on the way and make other settlements.

On the morning of the 27th of April the bugle sounded at Garden Grove, and all the men assembled to organize for labor. Immediately hundreds of men were at work cutting trees, splitting rails, making fences, cutting logs for houses, building bridges, digging wells, making ploughs and herding cattle. Quite a number were sent into the Missouri settlements to exchange horses for oxen, valuable feather beds and the like for provisions and articles most needed in the camp, and the remainder engaged in ploughing and planting. Messengers were also dispatched to call in the bands of pioneers scattered over the country seeking work, with instructions to hasten them up to help form the new settlements before the season had passed ; so that, in a scarcely conceivable time, at Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah, industrious settlements sprang up almost as if by magic. The main body also hurried on toward old Council Bluffs, under the President and his chief men, to locate winter quarters, and to send on a picked company of pioneers that year to the Rocky Mountains. Reaching the Missouri River, they were welcomed by the Pottowatomie and Omaha Indians.

By this time Apostle Orson Hyde had arrived at head quarters from Nauvoo, and Apostle Woodruff, home from his mission to England, was at Mount Pisgah. To this place an express from the President at Council Bluffs came to raise one hundred men for the expedition to the mountains. Apostle Woodruff called for the mounted volunteers, and sixty at once followed him out into the line ; but the next day an event occurred which caused the postponement of the journey to the mountains till the following year.

It was on the 26th of June, when the camp at Mount Pisgah was thrown into consternation by the cry, "The United States troops are upon us!" But soon afterwards, Captain James Allen arriving with only three dragoons, the excitement subsided. The High Council was called, and Captain Allen laid before it his business, which is set forth in the following:

*Circular to the Mormons:*

I have come among you, instructed by Col. S. F. Kearney, of the U. S. army, now commanding the Army of the West, to visit the Mormon camp, and to accept the service for twelve months of four or five companies of Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for that period in our present war with Mexico; this force to unite with the Army of the West at Santa Fee, and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged.

They will receive pay and rations, and other allowances, such as other volunteers or regular soldiers receive, from the day they shall be mustered into the service, and will be entitled to all comforts and benefits of regular soldiers of the army, and when discharged, as contemplated, at California, they will be given gratis their arms and accoutrements, with which they will be fully equipped at Fort Leavenworth. This is offered to the Mormon people now. This year an opportunity of sending a portion of their young and intelligent men to the ultimate destination of their whole people, and entirely at the expense of the United States, and this advanced party can thus pave the way and look out the land for their brethren to come after them.

Those of the Mormons who are desirous of serving their country, on the conditions here enumerated, are requested to meet me without delay at their principal camp at the Council Bluffs, whither I am now going to consult with their principal men, and to receive and organize the force contemplated to be raised.

I will receive all healthy, able-bodied men of from eighteen to forty-five years of age.

J. ALLEN, *Capt. 1st Dragoons.*

Camp of the Mormons, at Mount Pisgah, 138 miles east of Council Bluffs, June 26th, 1846.

NOTE.—I hope to complete the organization of this battalion in six days after my reaching Council Bluffs, or within nine days from this time.

The High Council of Mount Pisgah treated the military envoy with studied courtesy, but the matter was of too great importance for even an opinion to be hazarded in the absence of the master mind; so Captain Allen was furnished with a letter of introduction to Brigham Young and the authorities at head-quarters, and a special messenger was dispatched by Apostle Woodruff to prepare the President for the business of the Government agent.

## CHAPTER V.

THE CALL FOR THE "MORMON BATTALION." INTERVIEWS WITH PRESIDENT POLK. THE APOSTLES ENLISTING SOLDIERS FROM THEIR PEOPLE FOR THE SERVICE OF THE NATION. THE BATTALION ON THE MARCH.

We now come to a subject in Mormon history of which two opposite views have been taken, neither of which, perhaps, are unqualifiedly correct. It is that of the calling of a Mormon battalion to serve the nation in its war with Mexico, as set forth in the circular already given. One view is that the Government, prompted by such men as Senator Benton of Missouri, sought to destroy, or at least to cripple the Mormons, by taking from them five hundred of their best men, in an Indian country, and in their exodus; while the other view is that the Government designed their good and honor. The truth is that a few honorable gentlemen like Colonel Thomas L. Kane did so design; but it is equally true that the great majority heartily wished for their utter extinction; while Senator Douglass and many other politicians, seeing in this vast migration of the Mormons towards the Pacific the ready and most efficient means to wrest California from Mexico, favored the calling of the battalion for national conquest, without caring what afterwards became of those heroic men who left their families and people in the "wilderness," or whether those families perished by the way or not. Moreover, the Mormon leaders are in possession of what appears to be very positive evidence that, after President Polk issued the "call," Senator Thomas Benton obtained from him the pledge that, should the Mormons refuse to respond, United States troops should pursue, cut off their route, and disperse them. Such a covenant was villainous beyond expression; for to have dispersed the Mormon pilgrims at that moment would have been to have devoted a whole people to the cruelest martyrdom.

In any view of the case, it shows that Brigham Young was a statesman, and that the Mormons were an essentially loyal and patriotic people; and, if we take the darkest view, which be it emphatically affirmed was the one of that hour, then does the masterly policy of Brigham Young, and the conduct of the Mormons, stand out sublime and far-seeing beyond most of the examples of history. The reader has noted Mr. Brannan's letter, received by the leaders before starting on their journey; they looked upon this "call" for from five hundred to a thousand of the flower of their camps as the fulfillment of the "threat." The excuse to annihilate them they believed was sought; even the General Government dared not disperse and disarm them without an excuse. At the best an extraordinary test of their loyalty was asked of them, under circumstances that would have required the thrice hardening of a Pharaoh's heart to have exacted.

Mount Pisgah had been thrown into consternation with the cry, "The United States troops are upon "us!" And the High Council had sat in grave silence, without venturing even a probable answer to the Government agent. But at Council Bluffs was a matchless leader, ready to master the situation.

Here it will be only just to both sides to give Colonel Kane's statement, in his historical discourse on the Mormons, delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as that gentleman sustained in the case very much the character of a special agent of the Administration to the Mormons. He said:

"At the commencement of the Mexican war, the "President considered it desirable to march a body "of reliable infantry to California, at as early a "period as practicable, and the known hardihood "and habits of discipline of the Mormons were "supposed peculiarly to fit them for this service. "As California was supposed also to be their ulti-"mate destination, the long march might cost them "less than other citizens. They were accordingly "invited to furnish a battalion of volunteers early "in the month of July.

'The call could hardly have been more incon-"veniently timed. The young and those who could "best have been spared, were then away from the "main body, either with pioneer companies in the "van, or, their faith unannounced, seeking work "and food about the north-western settlements, to "support them till the return of the season for com-"mencing emigration. The force was, therefore, to

" be recruited from among the fathers of families, " and others, whose presence it was most desirable " to retain.

" There were some, too, who could not view the " invitation without distrust; they had twice been " persuaded by Government authorities in Illinois " and Missouri, to give up their arms on some " special appeals to their patriotic confidence, and " had then been left to the malice of their enemies. " And now they were asked, in the midst of the " Indian country, to surrender over five hundred of " their best men for a war march of thousands of " miles to California, without the hope of return till " after the conquest of that country. Could they " view such a proposition with favor?

" But the feeling of country triumphed; the " Union had never wronged them. 'You shall have " your battalion at once, if it has to be a class of " elders,' said one, himself a ruling elder. A central " mass-meeting for council, some harangues at the " more remotely scattered camps, an American flag " brought out from the storehouse of things rescued, " and hoisted to the top of a tree-mast, and, in three " days, the force was reported, mustered, organized " and ready to march."

The foregoing is a graphic summary, but the reader will ask for something more of detail of this one of the chief episodes of Mormon history.

On the 1st of July Captain Allen was in council at the Bluffs with Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, George A Smith, John Taylor John Smith and Levi Richards. At head-quarters they had not nearly sufficient force to raise the battalion. Yet they lost not a moment. In the character of recruiting sergeants Brigham, Heber and Willard at once set out for Mount Pisgah, a distance of 130 miles, on the back track. Here they met Elder Jesse C. Little, home from Washington, having had interviews with President Polk and other members of the Government. A condensation of Elder Little's report will, at last, give to the public the original plan of the Government in the call of the battalion:

*To President Brigham Young and the Council of the Twelve Apostles:*

BRETHREN: In your letter of appointment to me dated Temple of God, Nauvoo, January 26th, 1846, you suggested, "If our Government should offer facilities for emigrating to the western coast, embrace those facilities if possible. As a wise and faithful man, take every honorable advantage of the times you can. Be thou a Savior and a deliverer of the people, and let virtue, integrity and truth be your motto—salvation and glory the prize for which you contend" In accordance with my instructions, I felt an anxious desire for the deliverance of the Saints, and resolved upon visiting James K. Polk, President of the United States, to lay the situation of my persecuted brethren before him, and ask him, as the representative of our country, to stretch forth the Federal arm in their behalf. Accordingly I called upon Governor Steele, of New Hampshire, with whom I had been acquainted from my youth, and other philanthropic gentlemen to obtain letters of recommendation to the heads of the departments.

Governor Steele gave to Elder Little a letter of introduction to Mr. Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy, in which the Governor said:

> Mr. Little visits Washington, if I understand it correctly, for the purpose of procuring, or endeavoring to procure, the freight of any provisions or naval stores which the Government may be desirous of sending to Oregon, or to any portion of the Pacific. He is thus desirous of obtaining freight for the purpose of lessening the expense of chartering vessels to convey him and his followers to California, where they intend going and making a permanent settlement the present Summer.
>
> Yours truly,
> JOHN STEELE.

From Col. Thomas L. Kane, Elder Little received a letter of introduction to the Hon. George M. Dallas, Vice-Pres't of the U. S., in which the writer said:

> This gentleman visits Washington with no other object than the laudable one of desiring aid of Government for his people, who, forced by persecution to found a new commonwealth in the Sacramento Valley, still retain American hearts, and would not willingly sell themselves to the foreigner, or forget the old commonwealth they leave behind.

Armed with these and other letters, Mr. Little started to Washington from Philadelphia, where he had enlisted, for his afflicted people, the zealous friendship of the patriotic brother of the great Arctic explorer; and, soon after his arrival at the capital, he obtained an introduction to President Polk, through ex-Postmaster-General Amos Kendall. The Elder was favorably received by Mr. Polk, which emboldened him to address a formal petition to the President, which he closed as follows:

> From twelve to fifteen thousand Mormons have already left Nauvoo for California, and many others are making ready to go; some have gone around Cape Horn, and I trust, before this time, have landed at the Bay of San Francisco. We have about forty thousand in the British Isles, all determined to gather to this land, and thousands will sail this Fall. There are also many thousands scattered through the States, besides the great number in and around Nauvoo, who will go to California as soon as possible, but many of them are destitute of money to pay their passage either by sea or land.
>
> We are true-hearted Americans, true to our native country, true to its laws, true to its glorious institutions; and we have a desire to go under the outstretched wings of the American Eagle; we would disdain to receive assistance from a foreign power, although it should be proffered, unless our Government shall turn us off in this great crisis, and compel us to be foreigners.
>
> If you will assist us in this crisis, I hereby pledge my honor, as the representative of this people, that the whole body will stand ready at your call, and act as one man in the land to which we are going; and should our Territory be invaded, we will hold ourselves ready to enter the field of battle, and then like our patriotic fathers, make the battle-field our grave, or gain our liberty.

There were present, at the first interview between the Mormon Elder and the President of the United States, Gen. Sam. Houston, just from Texas, upon

Mexican affairs, and other distinguished men. A singular circumstance in American history is here connected; for at that important juncture in the history of our nation as well as the Mormons, Washington was thrown into great excitement by the news that Gen. Taylor had fought two battles with the Mexicans. This important event was directly bearing on the affairs of the Mormons, as much as upon those of the nation at large. The news of the actual commencement of the war between the two rival Republics came in the very nick of time. Had Elder Little arrived in Washington six months before, or six months later, there would have been a marked variation from that which came to pass. We know not what the exact difference would have been, but it is most certain that President Polk would not then have designed to possess California by the help of these State-founding Saints, nor would their shovels have turned up the gold at Sutter's Mill, nor would General Stephen F. Kearney have had at his back the Mormon battalion as his chief force, when he made himself master of the land of precious metals, and put his rival, Fremont, under arrest.

The day after his first interview with President Polk, Elder Little called again upon ex-Postmaster-General Kendall, who informed him that the President had determined to take possession of California; that he designed to use the Mormons for this purpose, and that they would receive orders to push through to fortify the country. This induced the Elder to address the petition already quoted.

The President now laid the matter before the cabinet. The plan offered to his colleagues was for the Elder to go direct to the Mormon camp, to raise from among them "one thousand picked men, to "make a dash into California and take possession "of it in the name of the United States." The battalion was to be officered by their own men, excepting the commanding officer, who was to be appointed by President Polk, and to take cannon and everything necessary for the defence of the country. One thousand more of the Mormons from the Eastern States were proposed to be sent by way of Cape Horn, in a U. S. transport, for the same service. This was the original plan which President Polk laid before his cabinet.

After this Elder Little had his second interview with President Polk, who told the Elder that he "had no prejudices against the Saints, but he believed them to be good citizens;" that he "was "willing to do them all the good in his power consistently;" that "they should be protected;" and that he had "read the petition with interest." He further emphatically observed that he had "confidence in the Mormons as true American citizens, "or he would not make such propositions as those "he designed." This interview lasted three hours, so filled was the President with his plan of possessing California by the aid of the Mormons. But this generous design was afterward changed through the influence of Senator Benton.

Before his departure west, Elder Little had another special interview with the President, who further said that he had "received the Mormon "suffrages," that "they should be remembered;"

and that he had "instructed the Secretary of War "to make out dispatches to Colonel Kearney, commander of the Army of the West, relative to the "Mormon battalion."

On the 12th of June, Elder Little, in company with Colonel Thomas L. Kane, started for the West, the Colonel bearing special dispatches from the Government to General Kearney, who was at Fort Leavenworth. Judge Kane journeyed with his son as far as St. Louis.

The following is the order under which the battalion was mustered into service:

Head-quarters, Army of the West,
Fort Leavenworth, June 19, 1846.

Sir:

It is understood that there is a large body of Mormons who are desirous of emigrating to California, for the purpose of settling in that country, and I have therefore to direct that you will proceed to their camps and endeavor to raise from amongst them four or five companies of volunteers, to join me in my expedition to that country, each company to consist of any number between 73 and 109; the officers of each company will be a captain, first lieutenant and second lieutenant, who will be elected by the privates, and subject to your approval, and the captains then to appoint the non-commissioned officers, also subject to your approval. The companies, upon being thus organized, will be mustered by you into the service of the United States, and from that day will commence to receive the pay, rations and other allowances given to the other infantry volunteers, each according to his rank. You will, upon mustering into service the fourth company, be considered as having the rank, pay and emoluments of a lieutenant-colonel of infantry, and are authorized to appoint an adjutant, sergeant-major, and quartermaster-sergeant for the battalion.

The companies, after being organized, will be marched to this post, where they will be armed and prepared for the field, after which they will, under your command, follow on my trail in the direction of Santa Fee, and where you will receive further orders from me.

You will, upon organizing the companies, require provisions, wagons, horses, mules, &c. You must purchase everything that is necessary, and give the necessary drafts upon the Quartermaster and Commissary departments at this post, which drafts will be paid upon presentation.

You will have the Mormons distinctly to understand that I wish to have them as volunteers for twelve months; that they will be marched to California, receiving pay and allowances during the above time, and at its expiration they will be discharged, and allowed to retain, as their private property, the guns and accoutrements furnished to them at this post.

Each company will be allowed four women as laundresses, who will travel with the company, receiving rations and other allowances given to the laundresses of our army.

With the foregoing conditions, which are hereby pledged to the Mormons, and which will be faithfully kept by me and other officers in behalf of the Government of the United States, I cannot doubt but that you will in a few days be able to raise five hundred young and efficient men for this expedition.

Very respectfully your ob't serv't,

(Signed) S. F. Kearney,
Col. of First Dragoons.

Per Capt. James Allen, First Reg. Dragoons, Fort Leavenworth."

It will be remembered that Brigham Young, while believing the battalion call to be a test of loyalty, hastened with Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards to Mount Pisgah, 130 miles, to execute the "demand," as they deemed it, for a battalion of their picked men to serve their country. They immediately sent messengers, with official despatches from their high councils, to Nauvoo, Garden Grove and the regions around, calling to head-quarters their old men and able-bodied boys to supply the place of their picked men going for the service of their country.

Returning to Council Bluffs, the Twelve gathered the "Camp of Israel" to enrol the companies of volunteers. While Major Hunt, of the volunteers, was calling out the first company, Brigham Young conversed with Col. Kane in Woodruff's carriage about the affairs of the nation, and told him the time would come when the Mormons would "have "to save the Government of the U. S., or it would "crumble to atoms."

Forty minutes after twelve of the same day, July 15th, the Elders and the people assembled in the Bowery. President Young then delivered to the congregation a simple but earnest speech, in which he told the brethren, with a touch of subdued pathos, "not to mention families to day;" that they had "not time to reason now." "We want," he said, "to conform to the requisition made upon "us, and we will do nothing else till we have accomplished this thing. If we want the privilege "of going where we can worship God according to "the dictates of our consciences, we must raise the "battalion. I say, it is right; and who cares for "sacrificing our comfort for a few years?"

Nobly did the Mormons respond to this call of their country. The apostles acted as recruiting sergeants; nor did they wait for their reinforcements, but moved as though they intended to apply their leader's closing sentence literally; he said: "After we get through talking, we will call out "the companies; and if there are not young men "enough we will take the old men, and if they are "not enough we will take the women. I want to "say to every man, the Constitution of the United "States, as formed by our fathers, was dictated, was "revealed, was put into their hearts by the Almighty, who sits enthroned in the midst of the "heavens; although unknown to them, it was dictated by the revelations of Jesus Christ, and I tell "you, in the name of Jesus Christ, it is as good as "ever I could ask for. I say unto you, magnify "the laws. There is no law in the United States, "or in the Constitution, but I am ready to make "honorable"

"There was no sentimental affectation at their "leave-taking," said Thomas L. Kane, in relating the story to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. "The afternoon before their march was devoted to "a farewell ball; and a more merry dancing rout "I have never seen, though the company went without refreshments, and their ball was of the most "primitive. It was the custom, whenever the larger "camps rested for a few days together, to make "great arbors, or boweries, as they called them, of "poles, and brush, and wattling, as places of shelter

" for their meetings of devotion or conference. In " one of these, where the ground had been trodden " firm and hard by the worshipers, of the popular " Father Taylor's precinct, was gathered now the " mirth and beauty of the Mormon Israel.

" If anything told that the Mormons had been " bred to other lives, it was the appearance of the " women as they assembled here. Before their " flight they had sold their watches and trinkets as " the most available recourse for raising ready " money; and hence like their partners, who wore " waistcoats cut with useless watch pockets, they, " although their ears were pierced and bore the " marks of rejected pendants, were without earrings, " chains or brooches. Except such ornaments, how-" ever, they lacked nothing most becoming the " attire of decorous maidens. The neatly-darned " white stockings, and clean white petticoat, the " clear-starched collar and chemisette, the some-" thing faded, only because too-well washed lawn " or gingham gown, that fitted modishly to the " waist of its pretty wearer—these, if any of them " spoke of poverty, spoke of a poverty that had " known better days.

" With the rest attended the elders of the Church " within call, including nearly all the chiefs of the " High Council, with their wives and children. " They, the bravest and most trouble-worn, seemed " the most anxious of any to throw off the burden " of heavy thoughts. Their leading off the dance " in a double cotillon was the signal which bade the " festivity to commence. To the canto of debon-" nair violins, the cheer of horns, the jingle of sleigh "bells, and the jovial snoring of the tambourine, "they did dance! None of your minuets or other "mortuary possessions of gentles in etiquette, tight "shoes and pinching gloves, but the spirited and "scientific displays of our venerated and merry "grandparents, who were not above following the "fiddle to the lively fox-chase, french fours, Copenhagen jigs, Virginia reels, and the like forgotten figures, executed with the spirit of people "too happy to be slow, or bashful, or constrained. "Light hearts, lithe figures and light feet had it "their own way from an early hour till after the sun "had dipped behind the sharp sky-line of the "Omaha hills. Silence was then called, and a well-"cultivated mezzo-soprano voice, belonging to a "young lady with fair face and dark eyes, gave with "quartette accompaniment, a little song, the notes "of which I have been unsuccessful in repeated "efforts to obtain since—a version of the text "touching to all earthly wanderers:

"By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept;
We wept when we remembered Zion:

"There was danger of some expression of feeling "when the song was over, for it had begun to draw "tears, but, breaking the quiet with his hard voice, "an elder asked the blessing of heaven on all who, "with purity of heart and brotherhood of spirit, had "mingled in that society, and then all dispersed, "hastening to cover from the falling dews."

# CHAPTER VI.

THE MORMONS SETTLE ON INDIAN LANDS. A GRAND COUNCIL HELD BETWEEN THE ELDERS AND INDIAN CHIEFS. A COVENANT IS MADE BETWEEN THEM, AND LAND GRANTED BY THE INDIANS TO THEIR MORMON BROTHERS. CHARACTERISTIC SPEECHES OF FAMOUS INDIAN CHIEFS. WINTER QUARTERS ORGANIZED. THE GOVERNMENT AT FIRST CONFIRMS THE INDIAN PERMISSION TO THE MORMONS AND THEN SEEKS TO EJECT THEM. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE. JUDGE KANE AND HIS SON.

With the departure of the battalion, the flower of their strength, vanished all expectation of going to the Rocky Mountains that year, and the elders immediately set to work to locate and build their winter quarters. Ever exact to the organic genius of their community, their first business was to organize the High Council of a "Traveling Stake of Zion." This was done at Council Bluffs, July 21st, with Father Morley at the head of an incorporated council of twelve high priests.

The Indians welcomed their "Mormon brothers" with a touch of dramatic pathos. "They would "have been pleased," said Colonel Kane, "with "any whites who would not cheat them, nor "sell them whiskey, nor whip them for their "poor gipsey habits, nor bear themselves indecently "toward their women, many of whom among the "Pottowatomies, especially those of nearly unmixed "French descent, are singularly comely, and some "of them educated. But all Indians have something like a sentiment of reverence for the insane, "and admire those who sacrifice, without apparent "motive, their worldly welfare to the triumph of an "idea. They understand the meaning of what they "call a great vow, and think it the duty of the "right-minded to lighten the votary's penance "under it. To this feeling they united the sympathy of fellow sufferers for those who could talk "to them of their own Illinois, and tell the story "how from it they also had been ruthlessly expelled.

"Their hospitality was sincere, almost delicate. "Fanny Le Clerc, the spoiled child of the great "brave, Pied Riche, interpreter of the nation, would "have the pale face, Miss Divine, learn duets with "her to the guitar; and the daughter of substantial "Joseph La Framboise, the interpreter of the "United States (she died of the fever that Summer) "welcomed all the nicest young Mormon Kitties "and Lizzies and Jennies and Susans, to a coffee "feast at her father's house, which was probably the "best cabin in the river village. They made the "Mormons at home there and elsewhere. Upon all "they formally gave them leave to tarry just so "long as it suited their own good pleasure.

"The affair, of course, furnished material for a "solemn council. Under the auspices of an officer "of the United States, their chiefs were summoned,

" in the form befitting great occasions, to meet in
" the dirty yard of one Mr. P. A. Sarpy's log trading
" house, at their village; they came in grand toilet,
" moving in their fantastic attire with so much
" aplomb and genteel measure, that the stranger
" found it difficult not to believe them high-born
" gentlemen attending a costumed ball. Their aris-
" tocratically thin legs, of which they displayed fully
" the usual Indian proportion, aided this illusion.
" There is something, too, at all times very mock-
" Indian in the theatrical French millinery tie of
" the Pottowatomie turban; while it is next to im-
" possible for a sober white man, at first sight, to
" believe that the red, green, black, blue and yellow
" cosmetics, with which he sees such grave person-
" ages so variously dotted, diapered, cancelled and
" arabesqued, are worn by them in any mood but
" one of the deepest and most desperate quizzing.
" From the time of their first squat upon the
" ground, to the final breaking up of the council
" circle, they sustained their characters with equal
" self-possession and address.

" I will not take it upon myself to describe their
" order of ceremonies; indeed I ought not, since I
" have never been able to view the habits and
" customs of our aborigines in any other light than
" that of a sorrowful subject at best. Besides, in
" this instance, the displays of pow wow and elo-
" quence were both probably moderated by the con-
" ducting of the entire transaction on temperance
" principles. I therefore content myself with observ-
" ing, generally, that the proceedings were such as
" every way became the grandeur of the parties in-

" terested, and the magnitude of the interests involved. When the red men had indulged to " satiety in tobacco smoke from their peace pipes, " and in what they love still better their peculiar " metaphoric rodomontade, which beginning with " celestial bodies, and coursing downwards over the " grandest sublunary objects, always managed to ' alight at last on their Grand Father Polk, and the " tenderness for him of his affectionate colored children; all the solemn funny fellows present, who " played the part of chiefs, signed formal articles of " convention with their unpronounceable names.

"The renowned chief, Pied Riche (he was surnamed Le Clerc on account of his remarkable " scholarship) then rose and said:

"MY MORMON BRETHREN:—The Pottowatomie " came sad and tired into this unhealthy Missouri " bottom, not many years back, when he was taken " from his beautiful country beyond the Mississippi, " which had abundant game and timber, and clear " water everywhere. Now you are driven away the " same from your lodges and lands there, and the " graves of your people. So we have both suffered. " We must keep one another, and the Great Spirit " will keep us both. You are now free to cut and " use all the wood you may wish. You can make " your improvements and live on any part of our " actual land not occupied by us. Because one " suffers and does not deserve it, is no reason he " should suffer always. I say, we may live to see " all right yet. However, if we do not, our children " will. Bon jour!"

And thus ended the pageant. This speech was recited to Col. Kane after the treaty by the Pottowatomie orator in French, which language he spoke with eloquence.

But the Mormons had most to do with the Omaha Indians, for they located their camps on both the east and west sides of the Missouri river. Winter quarters proper was on the west side, five miles above Omaha of to-day. It has since dwindled from a Mormon city to the present Florence. There, on a pretty plateau, overlooking the river, they built, in a few months, more than seven hundred houses, neatly laid out with highways and byways, and fortified with breast-work, stockade and blockhouses. It had, too, its place of worship, " tabernacle of the " congregation ; " for in everything they did they kept up their character of the modern Israel. The industrial character of the people also typed itself on their city in the wilderness, which sprang up as by magic, for it could boast of large workshops, and mills and factories provided with water power. They styled it a " Stake of Zion." It was the principal stake, too, several others, such as Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah having already been established on the route.

The settlement of head-quarters brought the Mormons into peculiar relationship with the Omahas. A grand council was also held between their chiefs and the Elders. Big Elk made a characteristic speech for the occasion, yet not so distinguished in its Indian eloquence as that of Le Clerc. Big Elk said, in response to President Young:

" My son, thou hast spoken well. I have all thou " hast said in my heart. I have much I want to

" say. We are poor. When we go to hunt game
" in one place, we meet an enemy, and so in another
" place our enemies kill us. We do not kill them.
" I hope we will be friends. You may stay on
" these lands two years or more. Our young men
" may watch your cattle. We would be glad to
" have you trade with us. We will warn you of
" danger from other Indians."

The council closed with an excellent feeling; the pauper Omahas were treated to a feast, very gracious even to the princely appetite of Big Elk; and then they returned to their wigwams, satisfied for the time with the dispensation of the Great Spirit, who had sent their "Mormon brethren" into their country to care for and protect them from their enemies—the warlike Sioux.

The Omahas were ready to solicit as a favor the residence of white protectors among them. The Mormons harvested and stored away for them their crops of maize; with all their own poverty they spared them food enough besides, from time to time, to save them from absolutely starving; and their entrenched camp to the north of the Omaha villages served as a sort of breakwater between them and the destroying rush of the Sioux.

But the Mormons were as careful in their settlement on the Indian lands as they had been in the battalion case, to make their conduct irreproachable in the eyes of the General Government, and to do nothing, even in their direst necessities, that would not force the sanction of the nation. They were, therefore, particular in obtaining covenants from the Indians and forwarding them to the President of the United States. Here is the covenant of the Omahas:

"West Side of the Missouri River,
Near Council Bluffs, August 31, 1846.

We, the undersigned chiefs and braves, representatives of the Omaha nation of Indians, do hereby grant to the Mormon people the privilege of tarrying upon our lands for two years or more, or as long as may suit their convenience, for the purpose of making the necessary preparations to prosecute their journey west of the Rocky Mountains, provided that our great father, the President of the United States, shall not counsel us to the contrary.

And we also do grant unto them the privilege of using all the wood and timber that they shall require.

And furthermore agree that we will not molest or take from them their cattle, horses, sheep, or any other property.

BIG ELK, his x mark,
STANDING ELK, his x mark,
LITTLE CHIEF, his x mark."

On this matter Brigham Young wrote to the President in behalf of his people:

"Near Council Bluffs, Butler's Park,
Omaha Nation, Sept. 7, 1846.

SIR:

Since our communication of the 9th ult. to Your Excellency, the Omaha Indians have returned from their Summer hunt, and we have had an interview in general council with their chiefs and braves, who expressed a willingness that we should tarry on their lands, and use what wood and timber would be necessary for our convenience, while we were preparing to prosecute our journey, as may be seen from a duplicate of theirs to us of the 21st of August, which will be presented by Col. Kane.

In council they were much more specific than in their writings, and Big Elk, in behalf of his nation, requested us to lend them teams to draw their corn at harvest, and help keep it after it was deposited, to assist them in building houses, making fields, doing some blacksmithing, &c., and to teach some of their young men to do the same, and also keep some goods and trade with them while we tarried among them.

We responded to all their wishes in the same spirit of kindness manifested by them, and told them we would do them all the good we could, with the same proviso they made, if the President was willing; and this is why we write.

Hitherto we have kept aloof from all intercourse except in councils, as referred to, and giving them a few beeves when hungry, but we have the means of doing them a favor by instructing them in agricultural and mechanical arts, if it is desirable.

It might subject us to some inconvenience, in our impoverished situation, to procure goods for their accommodation, and yet, if we can do it, we might receive in return as many skins and furs as would prove a valuable temporary substitute for worn-out clothing and tents in our camp, which would be no small blessing.

A small division of our camp is some two or three hundred miles west of this, on the rush bottoms, among the Puncaws, where similar feelings are manifested towards our people.

Should Your Excellency consider the requests of the Indians for instruction, &c., reasonable, and signifying the same to us, we will give them all the information in mechanism and farming the nature of the case will admit, which will give us the opportunity of getting the assistance of their men to help us herd and labor, which we have much needed since the organization of the battalion.

A license, giving us permission to trade with the Indians while we are tarrying on or passing through their lands, made out in the name of Newel K. Whitney, our agent in camp, would be a favor to our people and our red neighbors. All of which is submitted to Your Excellency's consideration and the confidence of Col. Kane.

Done in behalf of the council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, at the time and place before mentioned, and Camp of Israel.

Most respectfully,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, *Pres't.*
WILLARD RICHARDS, *Clerk.*

To James K. Polk, *Pres't. U. S.*"

At this time Col. Thomas L. Kane was lying sick in the "Camp of Israel" at head-quarters. The ministering hand of the Mormons smoothed his pillow, and their faith and prayers wooed his spirit back to new life. Their prophetic assurances that he had a destiny to fulfill, and that his days should be lengthened, contrary to all his expectations, must, in his romantic surroundings, have been singularly fascinating. He was with a veritable Israel in the Wilderness—a people fleeing from their Egypt, with a faith and trust in their God more constant and exalted than that of the ancient people; for there was no murmuring among these, against the hand that was delivering them; no rebellion against their Moses; no hungering for the fat of the land of the Gentile that they were leaving hehind. Our friend was with them on a crowning occasion; it gave to him a taste of the spirit of that brother-and-sisterhood which was bearing them through an historic drama that rises above even sublimity, and he himself was a subject of that ministering tenderness that took comfort in pouring salvation upon another's head. He learned more of the Mormons thus sympathetically, without actual change from his presbyterian faith, than a quarter of a century's cold investigation would have given him. And nobly has their friend paid them back, while every day has enshrined him deeper in the Mormon's heart, and rendered his name as sacred as that of a household deity.

It will be remembered that Col. Kane came West bearing despatches from the Government to General Kearney, relative to the call of the Mormon battalion and the expedition to California to possess that country. His sickness in the Mormon camp hindered his further journey towards the land that soon afterwards became the *El Dorado* of the nation. As he grew convalescent he became anxious for his Mormon friends, lest, should a relapse take him off, they should be charged with his death; so he sent to Fort Leavenworth for a physician. Dr. Edes obeyed the summons, and gave the certificate to Dr. Richards, the church historian.

What a comment is this suggestive certificate upon Mormon history! Imagine the death of the best and most constant friend charged in the account of their crimes. Yet is the case of Gunnison a very similar one. He was murdered by the Mormons, so they say—that Gunnison who almost sang psalms to the Mormons' praise, and had only Kane died at winter quarters twenty-nine years ago, Brigham Young might have stood but yesterday indicted for his murder in the immaculate court of Judge McKean.

But their friend was spared, and the mission he took upon himself in this people's behalf was nobly forwarded by his honorable father. The letters of Judge Kane to his son at the time deserve an everlasting record. They are, moreover, important historical links necessary to harmonize the views of relations with the Government. Here is the first:

"PHILADELPHIA, 10th Aug., 1846.

MY DEAR SON:

Your letter of the 23d of July reached me yesterday. I have lost no time in making the appeal to the President for the permission to remain; and before the end of this week, my court being about to adjourn for a fortnight, I shall see him, and take care that the thing is done. The form, of course, is immaterial, but in substance all shall be right.

I am sincerely happy at the prospect there is of doing good to the sufferers for conscience sake. You say right, that you have not lived in vain, if you can guard one individual from outrage, or one heart from anxiety. It is worth the hazard and the suffering, for it will make your pillow smoother at last, even though it be the rough grass of the wilderness, without a mother's blessing or the pressure of a father's hand.

God be with you always to protect and cheer you my boy, in your pilgrimage of mercy, and bring you back to us in his own good season to our comfort and pride.

J. K. KANE."

The judge personally laid the matter before the President, as promised, and then wrote:

PHILADELPHIA, 4th Sept., 1846.

DEAR SON:

We have just received your letter of the 19th August, dated at the camp of the Omaha country. Thank God it is no worse (referring to his son's sickness), and that we are to have you back again among us. All that we have to pray against is a relapse. We shall look with intense anxiety for your letter from Nauvoo or Galena, which we ought to receive in about three weeks.

I saw the President last week and talked over the whole subject. He assured me definitely that the Mormons shall not be disturbed. To-day I have received from the War Department a copy of the instructions of the Indian Bureau to Major Harvey, and I enclose them to you by the President's request. We are all well. God bless you.

Most affectionately your father and friend,

J. K. KANE.

The instructions were duly sent to the superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis.

But Major Harvey strangely interpreted his instructions. He visited President Young on the 1st of November. He had letters from Washington, he said. The department expected the Mormons to leave the Indian lands in the Spring. "What "reason had they for stopping there at all?" Harvey wished to know. Brigham Young told him the reason—the reader can guess it. The soldiers of the battalion could have answered, also, had they been present. But President Young informed the superintendent that the Mormons should not move from either side of the river till the Spring, and requested a copy of the instructions from the department. A confidential scribe was sent to the sub agency for it; he returned with the following:

COUNCIL BLUFFS, Sub-Agency,
November 5th, 1845.

SIR:

Your communication of the 3d instant was received on Saturday. Mr. Clayton is furnished with the letter of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of September 3d, for the purpose of copying. My engagements here will not permit me to write you but a line. I would, however, add that no white persons are permitted to settle on the lands of the Indians without authority of the government. Your party being Mormons does not constitute the objection, but the fact of your being there without the authority of Government. In the execution of my duty, I know no sects or parties, and I am sure the Government at Washington acts upon the same principle.

I may write you more particularly on my return to St. Louis, where I shall have all the correspondence on the subject before me.

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,
W. H. HARVEY, *Supt. Ind. Affairs.*

This was addressed to the High Council, and that body, in reply, wrote a very powerful and touching letter to the superintendent in the name of the people.

At this juncture, William Kimball arrived with the mail, bringing the official documents from the department, enclosed to Judge Kane, giving permission to the Mormons to remain, with the following also from Colonel Kane to President Young:

"NAUVOO, ILLINOIS, Sept. 22d, 1846.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

As my mind is confused by the effect of over exercise this hot day upon my disease-shattered frame, I forward to you in original, or copy, all the enclosures which I have received from my father, that they may tell their own story better than I am able to do it for them.

I do not, you may believe, deny myself the pleasure of writing to you at length without reluctance; but the pain I have at present in my head is really so acute that you must take my honest wish to do so for the deed itself.

With regard to the clauses, which for convenience I have marked with asterisks, in the communication of Medill to Major Harvey of St. Louis, I need only observe that the first shows that Captain Allen's report, which fully narrated your objects and intention alluded to has, in all probability, never been dispatched to Washington, inasmuch as the date of Medill's letter to my father is as late as September 3d; and the second and third suggest it to me to remind you that I have with me, in case of personal accident, documents in the nature of vouchers, &c., not only from Mitchell, the sub-agent in question, who is pledged to me personally, but from all having influence or authority in the Upper Missouri country, which are every way satisfactory to us in their nature. You see, therefore, that you need apprehend no more from any instructions to Harvey or Mitchell, such as those which I fear alarmed you a little at the time of my departure.

I am getting to believe more and more every day, as my strength returns, that I am spared by God for the labor of doing you justice; but if I am deceived, comfort yourself and your people with the knowledge that my sickness in your midst has touched the chords of noble feeling in a brave heart, and that even if I do not succeed in getting home in person to secure your rights, my papers are now so arranged that my father will find it little more trouble to do you service than yours sincerely,

THOMAS L. KANE.

The answer to this by Willard Richards, the church historian, will at once be finely descriptive of the Mormons at winter quarters, and a completement of the view of their relations with the Government and its agents:

WINTER QUARTERS, CAMP OF ISRAEL,
Omaha Nation, Nov. 15, 1846.

MY DEAR COLONEL:

Although near midnight, cold and wet, and myself without shelter, except a worn-out, torn-out tent, weary and sick, I cannot let the moment pass without acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 22d September to General Young, two days since, enclosed with Judge Kane's two letters to yourself, also Mr. Medill's to Judge Kane the day following.

The package was unaccountably delayed, but better late than never, and it did your friends in camp good to hear you were so far on your journey, fully believing that ere this you have landed safe in the city of brotherly love.

I could not well deny myself copies of your father's letters, which I herewith enclose, with thanks from myself and brethren. These letters breathe the spirit of a nobleman.

The communications from the War Office are as satisfactory as we could reasonably expect, considering the probable information the Executive was in possession of at the time, and prove most clearly that the prompt action of your dear father* in the premises was not misplaced. Israel's God will reward him and you also, for the eagle eye with which you have watched for the good of suffering virtue.

We are never alarmed at any instructions which have or may be given to agents concerning us, for our cause is just, and we are detained at this point by an act of the President, which he intended for our good, and we have no doubt it will thus prove, though we have suffered much by the absence of so many men.

Many of the families in camp are now in small log or turf houses, just fit to ward off the winter's blast, and many more will be like situated should the mild weather continue till winter's day.

On the 1st inst. Major Harvey, Mitchell and Miller visited our camp. Their stay was too brief to call a council; indeed I know not if any member knew of their presence until they were absent, except General Young, who met them in his yard, or by the road side; and Major Harvey stated that he had communications from Washington, but had forgot to bring them; that the United States wanted the Mormons to remove from Pottowatomie lands in the Spring; and he much regretted that we were not on the opposite side of the river. General Young wished to know what advantage that would be if we were to leave there in the Spring; but could get no satisfaction.

The High Council of this place wrote Major Harvey at the sub-agency, where he was making payments, requesting a copy of the Washington documents, which he had proffered to General Young when opportunity should present. After a day or two's delay, the messenger, or confidential clerk, succeeded in taking a copy, which proved the same as the one enclosed by you; also received a letter from Major Harvey, stating "that no white persons are permitted to settle on the lands of the Indians. Your party being Mormons does not constitute the objection, but the fact of your being there without the authority of the Government. In the execution of my duty I know no sects or parties, and I am sure the Government at Washington acts upon the same principles.'

Let the sequel answer!

Did not Major Harvey know that it was an act of Government that caused us to settle? If a few log and mud huts can be called settling! Or could he have referred to the few poor who had stopped on the Pottowatomie lands previous to raising the battalion, when he had just been urging us to fall back on to said lands?

Pay day arrived, and Major Mitchell informed the chiefs that no Mormons could have any of the annuities; for there was one or two half-breeds or French (I know not which), who had married and been adopted into the Pottowatomie nation and believed in Mormonism. The chiefs informed him it was none of their business to decide who belonged to their nation and were to receive annuities, and it was none of his business whether they were Catholics, or Mormons, or Methodists, or anything else Mitchell has warned one of our brethren off the Indian lands, a good man, too, and for no reason that can be imagined, only he is a Mormon.

Major Harvey, in Indian council, said he did not approve of our being on this side of the river, and if he was tall enough he would remove us across the river. He also promised the Ottoes a farmer. The Indians immediately pointed out Mr. Case, who was present, and with whom they had long been acquainted, as he had been a Government farmer to the Ottoes, Pawnees and others for about twenty years, and wanted him; but the Major refused, and said he would send whom he pleased. You will recollect Mr. Case was the Government farmer at Pawnee, and was baptized while you was here. Immediately Mr. Miller informed Mr. Case that Major Harvey instructed him to give him his discharge, from that day, and he must cross the river; that the Major had left no money for his pay (which was due some time previously), and he did not know why Major Harvey should discharge him, only because he was a Mormon. *No regard to sects or parties!*

But enough of this for the present to give you a conjecture how little petty officers are carrying sail in the West.

I remain, with Presidents Young and Kimball, and thousands of others,

Your warm friend,
Willard Richards.

# CHAPTER VII.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF BRIGHAM YOUNG, UP TO THE MARTYRDOM OF JOSEPH SMITH. A VIEW OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH. FOUNDING OF THE BRITISH MISSION. BRIGHAM YOUNG IN ENGLAND. MARTYRDOM OF THE MORMON PROPHET.

While the Saints are resting at winter quarters, we will give to the reader a sketch of the life of President Young up to the martyrdom of Joseph Smith. That life is too crowded with great events thereafter to enable us to touch more than the connecting incidents of his earlier career.

Brigham Young was born in Whitingham, Windham County, Vermont, June 1st, 1801.

His parents were devoted to the Methodist religion, to which, in his maturity, he also inclined.

He was married October 8th, 1824, in Aurelius, Cayuga County, New York, where for twelve years he followed the occupations of carpenter, joiner, painter and glazier. In the Spring of 1829, he removed to Mendon, Monroe County, where his father resided, and here the next Spring he first saw the Book of Mormon, which was left with his brother Phineas Young, by Samuel H. Smith, brother of the Prophet.

In January, 1832, in company with Phineas Young and Heber C. Kimball, he visited a branch of the Church at Columbia, Pennsylvania, and returned deeply impressed with the principles of Mormonism. In this state of mind he went to Canada for his brother Joseph, who was there on a mission, preaching the Methodist faith. This prompt action, after he had resolved on his own course, is quite typical of the man.

Joseph Young "received and rejoiced in the testi-"mony," and returned home with his brother; and both immediately united themselves with the Saints.

Brigham was baptized April 14th, 1832, by Elder Eleazur Miller, who confirmed him at the water's edge, and ordained him to the office of an elder that same night.

About three weeks afterwards his wife was also baptized, but in the following autumn she died, leaving him two little children (girls). After her death he made his home at Heber C. Kimball's.

In the same month, with his brother Joseph and Heber C. Kimball, he started for Kirtland, to see the Prophet. Arriving at Kirtland, they found him, with several of his brothers, in the woods, chopping and hauling wood. "Here my joy was full," says Brigham, "at the privilege of shaking the hand "of the Prophet of God, and receiving the sure "testimony by the spirit of prophesy that he was "all that any man could believe him to be, as a true "prophet. He was happy to see us, and bid us "welcome. In the evening a few of the brethren "came in, and we conversed together upon the "things of the kingdom. He called upon me to "pray. In my prayer I spoke in tongues. As soon "as we arose from our knees, the brethren flocked "around him, and asked his opinion concerning the "gift of tongues that was upon me. He told them "it was the pure Adamic language. Some said to "him they expected he would condemn the gift, but "he said 'no, it is of God; and the time will come "when Brother Brigham Young will preside over "this Church.' The latter part of this conversation "was in my absence."

After staying about a week in Kirtland they returned home, and then, with his brother Joseph, he started on a mission to Upper Canada, on foot, in the month of December, and returned home in February, 1833, before the ice broke up.

For a little while he made his home at Heber C. Kimball's, preaching in the neighborhood, but on the first of April he started on foot for Canada again, where he raised up branches of the Church. He then "gathered up" several families, and started with them to Kirtland about the first of July, where he tarried awhile "enjoying the society of the "Prophet," and then returned to Mendon.

Taking his two children, in the month of September, he "gathered" to Kirtland with Heber C. Kimball. Here he commenced working at his former trade.

When the elders "went up to redeem Zion," in Jackson County, a missionary expedition famous in Mormon history, the Prophet was particularly anxious that Brigham should go with him. Meeting the Prophet one day, in company with Joseph Young, Brigham told him that his brother was doubtful as to his duty about going, to which the Prophet replied, "Brother Brigham and Brother Joseph, if you "will go with me in the camp to Missouri, and keep "my counsel, I promise you, in the name of the "Almighty, that I will lead you there and back "again, and not a hair of your heads shall be "harmed;" at which each presented his hand to the Prophet and the covenant was confirmed.

The organization of "Zion's Camp" being completed, they started for Missouri, where they arrived at Rush Creek, Clary County, on the 23d of June, when the camp was struck with the plague. Here they remained one week, attending to the sick and burying their dead. About seventy of the brethren were attacked with the cholera, of whom eighteen died.

The Prophet assembled the "Camp of Zion," and told the brethren that "if they would humble themselves before the Lord, and covenant that they would, from that time forth, obey his counsel, the plague should be stayed from that very hour;" whereupon the brethren, with uplifted hands, covenanted, "and the plague was stayed according to "the words of the Lord through his servant."

The journey to Missouri and back was performed in a little over three months, being a distance of about 2,000 miles, averaging forty miles per day, on foot, while traveling. On the return the brethren were scattered. Brigham and his brother Joseph arrived home safe, July 4, fulfilling the covenant made with them. He tarried in Kirtland during that Fall and Winter, quarrying rock, working on the Temple, and finishing the printing-office and schoolroom.

On the 14th of February, 1835, the Prophet called a council of Elders, at which the quorum of the Twelve Apostles were selected in the following order:

Lyman E. Johnson, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Luke Johnson, David W. Patten, William E. M'Lellin, John F. Boyington, William Smith, Orson Pratt, Thomas B. Marsh and Parley S. Pratt.

In May, Brigham Young was called to go and preach to the Indians. "This," said the Prophet, "will open the doors to all the seed of Joseph." He started on his mission in company with the Twelve, returning to Kirtland in September, where he spent the Fall and Winter preaching, attending a Hebrew school and superintending the painting and finishing of the Temple.

In March, 1836, the Temple, being nearly finished, was dedicated. "It was a day of God's power," says the record; "the glory of the Lord filled the house." It is known in the church as the Latter-day Pentacost, on which the Elders were specially "endowed with power from on high." The Twelve held the "solemn assembly," and received their "washings and annointings." The "washing of feet" was administered to Brigham by Joseph himself.

Soon after this, in company with his brother Joseph Young, he started on a mission to the Eastern States, traveling through New York, Vermont and Massachusetts. In the Fall and Winter of 1836, he was at home again with the Prophet, sustaining him through the darkest hour which the Church has yet seen.

It was at this time that a "spirit of apostacy" manifested itself among the Twelve, and ran through all the quorums of the church. It prevailed so extensively that it was difficult for many to see clearly the path to pursue.

On one occasion several of the Twelve, the "witnesses" to the Book of Mormon, and others of the authorities of the church, held a council in the upper room of the Temple. The question before them was to ascertain how the Prophet could be deposed, and David Whitmer, who was one of the "witnesses," appointed President of the Church.

"I rose up," says President Young, "and told "them in a plain and forcible manner that Joseph "was a prophet, and I knew it; and that they might "rail at and slander him as much as they pleased, "they could not destroy the appointment of the "Prophet of God; they could only destroy their "own authority, cut the thread which bound them "to the Prophet and to God, and sink themselves "to hell. Many were highly enraged at my decided "opposition to their measures, and Jacob Bump (an "old pugilist), was so exasperated that he could not "be still. Some of the brethren near him put their "hands on him and requested him to be quiet; but "he writhed and twisted his arms and body, saying, "'how can I keep my hands off that man?' I told "him if he thought it would give him any relief he "might lay them on. The meeting was broken up "without the Apostates being able to unite on any "decided measures of opposition. This was a crisis "when earth and hell seemed leagued to overthrow "the Prophet and Church of God. The knees of

" many of the strongest men in the church fal-
" tered.

" During this siege of darkness I stood close by
" Joseph, and with all the wisdom and power God
" bestowed upon me, put forth my utmost energies
" to sustain the servant of God, and unite the quo-
" rums of the church.

" Ascertaining that a plot was laid to way-lay
" Joseph for the purpose of taking his life, on his
" return from Monroe, Michigan, to Kirtland, I pro-
" cured a horse and buggy, and took brother Wil-
" liam Smith along to meet Joseph, whom we met
" returning in the stage coach. Joseph requested
" William to take his seat in the stage, and he
" rode with me in the buggy. We arrived in Kirt-
" land in safety."

The strength of Brigham Young's character broke the tide of apostacy arising among the very leaders of the church. There were in it no less than four of the Twelve Apostles, several of the " witnesses of the Book of Mormon," and many influential elders. To this day it has been a wonder among " gentile " writers that the Prophet dared to excommunicate so many of his first elders at one grand sweep. It means that Joseph and Brigham, " with the Lord on their side," were equal to anything. The part that Brigham Young acted then made him the successor of Joseph Smith.

About this time Brigham's cousins, Levi and Willard Richards, arrived in Kirtland. Willard, having read the Book of Mormon, came to enquire further concerning the book. His cousin invited him to make his home at his house during his investigation, which he did, and was baptized on the last day of the year 1836, in the presence of Heber C. Kimball and others, who had spent the afternoon cutting the ice to prepare for the ceremony. Willard Richards became one of the greatest men of the church.

On the first of June, 1837, Brigham's birthday, there were a few missionaries appointed to England, under the direction of Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde of the Twelve. Heber was very anxious that President Young should also go, but Joseph said he should keep Brigham at home with him. This was a sacrifice to the man who had so well earned the right "to unlock the dispensation" to foreign nations; but the moment was too critical for him to be spared. Before the mission to England started, Willard Richards was added to the number appointed. It is scarcely necessary to say that the opening of the mission to Great Britain has proved to be one of the most important events in the history of the Mormon church.

The policy of keeping Brigham home was soon apparent. "On the morning of December 22d," he says, "I left Kirtland in consequence of the fury of "the mob, and the spirit that prevailed in the apos- "tates, who threatened to destroy me because I "would proclaim, publicly and privately, that I "knew, by the power of the Holy Ghost, that "Joseph Smith was a prophet of the Most High "God, and had not transgressed and fallen as apos- "tates declared."

The Prophet and Sidney Rigdon also fled and joined Brigham at Dublin, Indiana, where Joseph made enquiry concerning a job at cutting and sawing wood, after which he came and said: "Brother "Brigham, I am destitute of means to pursue my "journey, and as you are one of the Twelve Apos-"tles, who hold the keys of the kingdom in all the "world, I believe I shall throw myself upon you, "and look to you for counsel in this case."

"At first," says Brigham, "I could hardly believe "Joseph was in earnest, but on his assuring me he "was, I said, 'If you will take my counsel, it will be "'that you rest yourself, and be assured, Brother "'Joseph, you shall have plenty of money to pursue "'your journey.'"

A providential sale of a tavern, owned by a Brother Tomlinson, brought the Prophet a gift of three hundred dollars, and he proceeded on his journey.

After a variety of incidents, Joseph and Brigham found themselves together in the Far West, but the Missourians soon commenced again to stir up the mob spirit, riding from neighborhood to neighborhood, making flaming speeches, priests taking lead in the crusade. This brought the exterminating army of Governor Boggs, under Generals Lucas and Clark, to drive the Mormons *en masse* out of Missouri.

Some of the mob were painted like Indians. Gillum, their leader, was painted in a similar manner. He styled himself the "Delaware chief." Afterwards he, and the rest of the mob, claimed and obtained pay, as militia, from the State.

Many of the Mormons were wounded and murdered by the army, and several women were ravished to death. "I saw," says Brigham, "Brother Joseph "Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman "Wight and George W. Robinson delivered up by "Colonel Hinkle to General Lucas, but expected "they would have returned to the city that evening "or the next morning, according to agreement, and "the pledge of the sacred honor of the officers that "they should be allowed to do so, but they did not "so return. The next morning General Lucas de-"manded and took away the arms of the militia of "Caldwell County (Brigham refused to give up his "arms), assuring them that they should be pro-"tected; but as soon as they obtained possession "of the arms, they commenced their ravages by "plundering the citizens of their bedding, clothing, "money, wearing apparel, and every thing of value "they could lay their hands upon, and also attempted "to violate the chastity of the women in the pres-"ence of their husbands and friends. The soldiers "shot down our oxen, cows, hogs and fowls at our "own doors, taking part away and leaving the rest "to rot in the street. They also turned their horses "into our fields of corn."

At this time General Clark delivered his noted speech. He said:

"GENTLEMEN: You whose names are not attached "to this list of names, will now have the privilege "of going to your fields and of providing corn, "wood, &c., for your families. Those that are now "taken will go from this to prison, be tried, and re-"ceive the due demerit of their crimes; but you "except such as charges may hereafter be preferred "against, are at liberty, as soon as the troops are

" removed that now guard the place, which I shall
" cause to be done immediately.

" It now devolves upon you to fulfill the treaty
" that you have entered into, the leading items of
" which I shall now lay before you. The first requires that your leading men be given up to be
" tried according to law; this you have complied
" with. The second is, that you deliver up your
" arms; this has also been attended to. The third
" is, that you sign over your properties to defray the
" expense that has been incurred on your account;
" this you have also done. Another article remains
" for you to comply with, and that is that you leave
" the State forthwith. And whatever may be your
" feelings concerning this, or whatever your innocence is, it is nothing to me. General Lucas,
" whose military rank is equal with mine, has made
" this treaty with you; I approve of it. I should
" have done the same had I been here, and am,
" therefore, determined to see it executed.

" The character of this State has suffered almost
" beyond redemption, from the character, conduct
" and influence you have exerted; and we deem it
" an act of justice to restore her character by every
" proper means.

" The order of the Governor to me was, that you
" should be exterminated, and not allowed to remain in the State. And had not your leaders
" been given up, and the terms of the treaty complied with, before this time your families would
" have been destroyed and your houses in ashes.

" There is a discretionary power vested in my
" hands, which, considering your circumstances, I

shall exercise for a season. You are indebted to me for this clemency. I do not say that you shall go now, but you must not think of staying here another season, or of putting in crops; for the moment you do this the citizens will be upon you, and if I am called here again in case of your non-compliance with the treaty made, do not think that I shall act as I have done now. You need not expect any mercy, but *extermination*, for I am determined that the Governor's order shall be executed.

"As for your leaders, do not think, do not imagine for a moment, do not let it enter into your minds that they will be delivered and restored to you again, for their fate is fixed, the die is cast, their doom is sealed.

"I am sorry, gentlemen, to see so many apparently intelligent men found in the situation that you are; and oh! if I could but invoke that great spirit of the unknown God to rest upon and deliver you from that awful chain of superstition, and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism with which you are bound—that you might no longer do homage to man!

"I would advise you to scatter abroad, and never again organize yourselves with bishops, priests, &c., lest you excite the jealousies of the people and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you.

"You have always been the aggressors. You have brought upon yourselves these difficulties, by being disaffected, and not being subject to rule. And my advice is, that you become as other citi-

" zens, lest by a recurrence of these events, you " bring upon yourselves inevitable ruin."

" I was present," says Brigham, " when that speech " was delivered, and when fifty-seven of our brethren were betrayed into the hands of our enemies " as prisoners.

" General Clark said that we must not be seen as " many as five together ; ' if you are,' said he, ' the " ' citizens will be upon you and destroy you ; but " ' you should flee immediately out of the State. " ' There is no alternative for you but to flee ; you " ' need not expect any redress ; there is none for " ' you,' "

" With respect to the treaty mentioned by Gen. " Clark, I have to say that there never was any " treaty proposed or entered into on the part of the " Mormons, or any one called a Mormon, except by " Col. Finkle. And with respect to the trial of " Joseph and the brethren at Richmond, I did not " consider that tribunal a legal court but an inquisition. The brethren were compelled to give " away their property at the point of the bayonet.

" In February, 1839, I left Missouri with my " family, leaving my landed property and also my " household goods, and went to Illinois, to a little " town called Atlas, Pike County, where I tarried a " few weeks ; then moved to Quincy.

" I held a meeting with the brethren of the " Twelve and the members of the Church in Quincy, " on the 17th of March, when a letter was read to " the people from the committee, on behalf of the " Saints at Far West, who were left destitute of the " means to move. Though the brethren were poor

"and stripped of almost everything, yet they mani-
"fested a spirit of willingness to do to their utmost.
"Offering to sell their hats, coats and shoes to
"accomplish the object. We broke bread and par-
"took of the sacrament. At the close of the meet-
"ing $50 was collected in money, and several teams
"were subscribed to go and bring the brethren.
"Among the subscribers was the widow of Warren
"Smith, whose husband and two sons had their
"brains blown out at the massacre at Haun's Mill.
"She sent her only team on this charitable mis-
"sion."

It was Brigham Young who superintended the removal and settling of the Mormons in Illinois, for the Prophet was now in prison with Parley P. Pratt and others.

A revelation had been given the previous year, July 8th, 1836, in answer to a petition: "Show us "thy will O Lord, concerning the Twelve." The answer came thus:

"Verily thus saith the Lord, let a conference be
"held immediately. Let the Twelve be organized,
"and let men be appointed to supply the places of
"those who are fallen. Let my servant Thomas
"remain for a season in the land of Zion to publish
"my word. Let the residue continue to preach
"from that hour, and if they will do this in all lowli-
"ness of heart, in meekness and humility, and long-
"suffering, I, the Lord, give unto them a promise
"that I will provide for their families, and an
"effectual door shall be open for them from hence-
"forth; and next Spring let them depart to go over
"the great waters, and there promulgate my gospel,

"the fulness thereof, and bear record of my name.
"Let them take leave of my Saints in the city of
"Far West, on the 26th day of April next, on the
"building spot of my house, saith the Lord.

"Let my servant, John Taylor, and also my serv-
"ant, John E. Page, and also my servant, Wilford
"Woodruff, and also my servant, Willard Richards,
"be appointed to fill the place of those who have
"fallen, and be officially notified of their appoint-
"ment."

But the Saints were now in banishment, and the Twelve could only return to Far West at the imminent risk of their lives. Many of the authorities of the Church urged that the Lord would not require the Twelve to fulfill this revelation to the letter, but would take the will for the deed. "But I felt "differently," says Brigham, and "so did those of the "quorum who were with me. I asked them, individually, what their feelings were upon the subject. They all expressed their desire to fulfill "the revelation. I told them the Lord had spoken "and it was our duty to obey, and leave the event "in his hands, and he would protect us."

There was a world of wisdom in this decision. The revelation was a special one concerning the Twelve Apostles themselves, and the success of their mission "across the great waters." Brigham was the master spirit of the Twelve. It would not do for that revelation to fail, now the Church was resting on the shoulders of the Twelve; and Brigham Young was not the man to let it fail!

The Twelve started. Far West was reached in safety. They hid themselves in a grove. The mob came into Far West to tantalize the committee, boasting that this was one of Joe Smith's revelations which could not be fulfilled, and threatened the committee themselves if they were found in Far West the next day.

Early on the morning of the elect day, April 26th, the Twelve held their conference, "cut off" 31 persons from the church, and proceeded to the building spot of the "Lord's House," where Elder Cutter, the master workman of the house, recommenced laying the foundation by rolling up a large stone near the south-east corner. There were present of the Twelve, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, and John Taylor, who proceeded to ordain Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith to the office of the Twelve, in place of those who had fallen. The quorum then offered up vocal prayer, each in their order, beginning with President Young, after which they sang "Adam-on-di-ahman," and took leave of the Saints according to the revelation.

"Thus," says the President, "was this revelation "fulfilled, concerning which our enemies said, if all "the other revelations of Joseph Smith came to "pass, that one should not be fulfilled, as it had "date and place to it."

After being in prison in Missouri about six months, the Prophet, with Parley P. Pratt and others, made their escape.

"It was one of the most joyful scenes of my life," says Brigham, "to once more strike hands with the "Prophet, and behold him and his companions free "from the hands of their enemies; Joseph con-

"versed with us like a man who had just escaped "from a thousand oppressions, and was now free in "the midst of his children."

The Prophet was highly pleased with Brigham and the Twelve for what they had done; and at a conference which he immediately held at Quincy, resolutions were passed expressing the approval of the whole church.

Joseph and the Twelve next founded Nauvoo, at a place then called Commerce, in Hancock County, Illinois, and soon again the Mormons gathered together as a people,

But the unhealthy labor of breaking new land on the banks of the Mississippi, for the founding of their city, invited pestilence. Nearly every one "was down" with fever and ague. The Prophet had the sick borne into his house and door-yard, until his place was like a hospital. At length, even he succumbed to the deadly contagion, and for several days was as helpless as his disciples. He was a man of mighty faith, however, and "the spirit came "upon him to arise and stay the pestilence."

"Joseph arose from his bed," narrated the President, "and the power of God rested upon him. He "commenced in his own house and door-yard, commanding the sick in the name of Jesus Christ to "arise and be made whole; and they were healed "according to his word. He then continued to "travel from house to house, and from tent to tent, "upon the bank of the river, healing the sick as he "went, until he arrived at the upper stone house, "where he crossed the river in a boat, accompanied "by several of the quorum of the Twelve, and landed "in Montrose. He walked into the cabin where I "was lying sick, and commanded me, in the name "of Jesus Christ, to arise and be made whole. I "arose and was healed, and followed him and the "brethren of the Twelve into the house of Elijah "Fordham, who was supposed, by his family and "friends to be dying. Joseph stepped to his bedside, took him by the hand and commanded him, "in the name of Jesus Christ, to arise from his bed "and be made whole. His voice was as the voice "of God. Brother Fordham instantly leaped from "his bed, called for his clothing and followed us "into the street. We then went into the house of "Joseph S. Nobles, who lay very sick, and he was "healed in the same manner! And when, by the "power of God granted unto him, Joseph had healed "all the sick, he recrossed the river, and returned "to his home This was a day never to be forgotten."

While yet emaciated from their recent sickness, the Twelve started on their mission to England.

President Young started from his home in Montrose on the 14th of September, 1839. Being still feeble, he was carried to the house of Heber C. Kimball, where he remained till the 18th. Kimball was in a similar condition; but these two chief apostles, nevertheless, resolutely set out for England, visiting Kirtland by the way.

On the 19th of March, 1840, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, George A. Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt and Reuben Hedlock, sailed from New York on board the *Patrick Henry*, a packet of the Black Ball line. A large number of the Saints came down to the wharf to bid them farewell. When the elders got into the small boat to go out to the ship, the Saints on shore sang "The gallant "ship is under way," in which song the elders joined until the voices were separated by the distance.

Liverpool was reached by these apostles on the 6th of April. It was the anniversary of the organization of the church, just ten years before. Brigham left the ship in a boat, with Heber C. Kimball and Parley P. Pratt, and when he landed he gave a loud shout of Hosanna! They procured a room at No. 8 Union Street, and here they partook of the sacrament, and returned thanks to God for his protecting care while on the waters, and prayed that their way might be opened to the successful accomplishment of their mission.

Next day they found Elder Taylor and John Moon, with about thirty Saints who had just received the work in that place. On the following day they went to Preston by railroad (which was built just at the period that the Mormon mission was introduced to that country).

In Preston, the cradle of the British mission, the apostles were met by a multitude of Saints, who rejoiced exceedingly at the great event of the arrival of the Twelve in that land.

Willard Richards immediately hastened to Preston and gave an account of the churches in the British Isles, over which he had been presiding during the interval from the return of Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde to America. The President of the Twelve was so emaciated from his long journey and sickness, that Willard did not at first recognize him; yet he at once commenced to grapple with the work in foreign lands, convened a conference, and wrote to Woodruff to attend.

Apostles Woodruff and Taylor had arrived in England on the first of the year, since which time Taylor had founded a church in Liverpool; and Woodruff, in Herefordshire, had built up a conference, consisting of many branches, numbering nearly a thousand souls. The President, therefore, had come at the very moment when he was most needed to give organic form to that great mission, out of which Utah itself has largely grown.

It was on the 14th of April, 1840, that the first council of the Twelve Apostles, in a foreign land, was held at Preston. There were present, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and George A. Smith. These proceeded to ordain Willard Richards to their quorum, and then Brigham was chosen, by a unanimous vote, the standing President of the Twelve,

Then followed, during the next two days, "a "general conference of the Church of Jesus Christ "of Latter-day Saints," held in the Temperance Hall, Preston, with Heber C. Kimball presiding and William Clayton clerk. There were represented at that time 1,671 members, 34 elders, 52 priests, 38 teachers, and 8 deacons.

During this conference the Apostles resolved to publish a monthly periodical—*The Millennial Star*—to be edited by Parley P. Pratt, assisted by Brigham Young, and to compile a new Hymn Book. Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor were appointed a committee to select the hymns suitable for the service of the Saints; and Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Parley P. Pratt, a committee for the publication of the Book of Mormon. Upon this Brigham wrote the following characteristic letter to the Prophet:

" *To President Joseph Smith and Councilors:*

DEAR BRETHREN: You no doubt will have the perusal of this letter and minutes of our conferences; they will give you an idea of what we are doing in this country.

If you see anything in or about the whole affair that is not right, I ask, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that you would make known unto us the mind of the Lord and his will concerning us.

I believe that I am as willing to do the will of the Lord, and take counsel of my brethren, and be a servant of the Church, as ever I was in my life; but I can tell you, I would like to be with my old friends; I like my new ones, but I cannot part with my old ones for them.

Concerning the Hymn Book: when we arrived here, we found the brethren had laid by their old hymn books, and they wanted new ones; for the Bible, religion and all, is new to them. * * *

I trust that I will remain your friend through life and in eternity.

As ever,

BRIGHAM YOUNG."

From the conference the President accompanied Willard Woodruff into Herefordshire, which was the most important field of labor in the British mission. Here he obtained most of the money for the publication of the Book of Mormon and the Hymn Book; Brother John Benbow furnishing 250 pounds and Brother Kington 100 pounds sterling.

On the 16th of June, President Young sent off the first company of the Saints, numbering 41 souls, in the ship *North America.* They were bound for the "Land of Zion." He then, with his quorum, held the second general conference, July 1st. in Manchester, at which were represented 41 branches, 2,513 members, 56 elders, 126 priests, 61 teachers, and 13 deacons, being an increase in three months of 842 members, 22 elders, 74 priests, 23 teachers and 5 deacons. At this conference twenty of the native elders volunteered to devote themselves exclusively to the ministry.

Soon after this conference, Parley P. Pratt, leaving for America to bring his family to England, Brigham took more immediate charge of *The Millennial Star*, assisted by Willard Richards.

In September he organized the second company of emigrants—200 souls—on board the *North America*, which sailed on the 8th.

On the 6th of October the third general conference was held at Manchester, at which 3,626 members were represented, with 81 elders, 222 priests, 74 teachers, and 26 deacons, showing an increase in the three months of 1,113 members, 25 elders, 96 priests, 15 teachers, and 13 deacons.

By this time the work had penetrated into Wales and Scotland; yet with great difficulty into the latter country.

The work in London was also opened about this time by Heber C. Kimball, George A. Smith, and

Wilford Woodruff; and, notwithstanding that it afterwards became the stronghold of Mormonism in England, the elders found the metropolis hard to penetrate.

While he was in England, President Young visited London several times. On one occasion, as he passed the chapel in which John Wesley preached, he paused and respectfully uncovered his head. It was the instinctive reverence of one great man paid to another.

On the 20th of April, 1841, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, George A. Smith, and Willard Richards, with a company of 130 Saints, went on board the ship *Rochester*, bound for New York. The following passage from the President's journal will give a view of what was done by the Twelve during the mission to England:

"It was with a heart full of thanksgiving and "gratitude to God, my heavenly father, that I re-"flected upon his dealings with me and my breth-"ren of the Twelve during the past year of my life "which was spent in England. It truly seems a "miracle to look upon the contrast between our "landing and departing from Liverpool. We land-"ed in the Spring of 1840, as strangers in a strange "land, and penniless, but through the mercy of God "we have gained many friends, established churches "in almost every noted town and city of Great "Britain, baptized between seven and eight thou-"sand souls, printed 5,000 Books of Mormon, 3,000 "hymn books, 2,500 volumes of *The Millennial* "*Star*, and 50,000 tracts; emigrated to Zion 1,000 "souls, establishing a permanent shipping agency, "which will be a great blessing to the Saints, and "have left sown in the hearts of many thousands "the seed of eternal life, which shall bring forth "fruit to the honor and glory of God; and "yet we have lacked nothing to eat, drink or "wear; in all these things I acknowledge the hand "of God."

A multitude of the Saints stood on the dock to see these successful apostles start for their native land, among whom was P. P. Pratt, who was left in charge of the British mission, and Apostle Orson Hyde, bound on a mission to Jerusalem.

On the 1st of July President Young, with Heber C. Kimball and John Taylor, arrived in Nauvoo. They were cordially welcomed by the Prophet, who several days after received the following revelation:

"Dear and well beloved brother Brigham Young, "verily thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant "Brigham, it is no more required at your hand to "leave your family as in times past, for your offering is acceptable to me; I have seen your labor "and toil in journeying for my name. I, therefore, "command you to send my word abroad, and take "special care of your family from this time, henceforth and for ever, amen."

The Prophet also wrote in his history concerning the Twelve:

"All the quorum of the Twelve Apostles who "were expected here this season, with the exception "of Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff, have "arrived. We have listened to the accounts which

" they give of their success, and the prosperity of " the work of the Lord in Great Britain, with pleasure.

" They certainly have been instruments in the " hands of God of accomplishing much, and must " have the satisfaction of knowing that they have " done their duty. Perhaps no men ever undertook " such an important mission under such peculiarly " distressing, forbidding and unpropitious circumstances. Most of them, when they left this place, " nearly two years ago, were worn down with sickness and disease, or were taken sick on the road. " Several of their families were also afflicted, and " needed their aid and support. But knowing that " they had been called by the God of heaven to " preach the gospel to other nations, they conferred " not with flesh and blood, but, obedient to the " heavenly mandate, *without purse or scrip*, commenced a journey of five thousand miles entirely " dependent on the providence of that God who " had called them to such a holy calling.

" While journeying to the sea board, they were " brought into many trying circumstances; after a " short recovery from severe sickness, they would " be taken with a relapse, and have to stop among " strangers, without money and without friends. " Their lives were several times despaired of, and " they have taken each other by the hand, expecting " it was the last time they should behold one another in the flesh.

" Notwithstanding their afflictions and trials, the " Lord always interposed in their behalf, and did " not suffer them to sink into the arms of death.

" Some way or other was made for their escape; " friends rose up when they most needed them, and " relieved their necessities, and thus they were en- " abled to pursue their journey and rejoice in the " holy one of Israel. They truly went forth weep- " ing, bearing precious seed, but have returned re- " joicing, bearing their sheaves with them."

The Prophet had now nearly reached the zenith of his power. His marvellous career was drawing to a close. But he had lived long enough to see his mission planted firmly in the United States and Europe. He had seen, too, the very man rise by his side who, perhaps, above all men in the world, was the one most fitted in every respect to succeed him and carry the new dispensation to a successful issue. Every move which Joseph made from that moment to his death manifested his instinctive appreciation of that fact. At the next conference the Prophet called upon the Twelve to stand in their place and "bear off the Kingdom of God" victorious among all nations. From that time, too, the burden of his sayings was that he was "rolling " off the kingdom from his own shoulders on to the " shoulders of the Twelve." The mantle of Joseph was falling upon Brigham. He lived barely long enough to make this appreciated, and to prepare the church for his martyrdom. A thousand times did the Prophet foreshadow his death. Every day he told his people in some form of the coming event. They blinded their understanding; yet, to-day they remember but too well the prophetic significance which indicated the close of his mortal career. If any man could have averted the stroke of fate, that man was Brigham Young. Had he been in Nauvoo he would have probably prevented the martyrdom. But strange to say, in spite of the foregoing revelation, and Joseph's evident feeling of safety with Brigham by his side, he sent him again on mission, during which period the tragedy occurred.

But during the last two years preceding his martyrdom, the star of the Prophet burst forth in its full brilliancy. Nauvoo rose as a beautiful monument of a new dispensation. The city numbered twenty thousand souls. In its legion were mustered several thousand militia soldiers. They were the flower of Israel, and in the prime of manhood. Joseph was their lieut.-general. With the thousands that were now expected to flock to Zion from the British mission, had his triumphant career continued, a hundred thousand of his disciples would, in a few years, have been gathered to Illinois and adjacent States. Their united votes would have controlled those States. Success would have multiplied the opportunities for success. Long ere this, following up such a prospect, the Prophet would have held half a million votes at his command among his disciples. Even some of his wisest elders were carried away by this view, while brilliant politicians and aspiring spirits outside the church pointed the Prophet out to the nation as the "coming man," and sought to unite their destiny with his. In short, Joseph Smith became a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. The first contest would of course have been lost; the second and the third perhaps lost also; but ere this the Mormon elders would have swept over the States in a political mission like an avalanche down the mountain.

There was one man, whose clear strong judgment was not glamoured by this delusive view. It is scarcely necessary to say that that man was Brigham Young. His genius would have led him just where his destiny has led him—namely, to the Rocky Mountains. In the very certainty that the Mormons, by their united vote, would soon rule the elections in several States consisted the Prophet's greatest danger. This people never have been guilty of crimes, but they have been guilty of unity, and have been damned by the prospect of a great destiny.

The only course that could have saved the Prophet, would have been an earlier removal to the Rocky Mountains. An expedition to explore this country had not only been planned, but was in process of organization, when the electioneering campaign, for Joseph Smith as President of the United States, came uppermost, and absorbed every other interest.

Events have since proved that had Joseph led a band of pioneers in the Spring of 1844 to the Rocky Mountains, Brigham was quite equal to master an exodus and remove the entire Church. When the mob force threatened Nauvoo, and the Governor, with an army, prepared to march against the devoted city, under the excuse of forestalling civil war, making the demand on the person of the Prophet for high treason, Joseph essayed to flee to the mountains. He had even started, crossing the river to the Iowa side, where he waited the enrolment of a chosen band of pioneers; but a messenger from his wife and certain of his disciples, reproaching him as a shepherd who had deserted his flock, recalled him to Nauvoo. Such a reproach was, beyond all others, the last that the lion heart of Joseph could bear and he returned and gave himself up to the authorities of Illinois. But had Brigham Young been home he never would have permitted that return. He would have thundered indignation upon the craven heads of those who thus devoted their Prophet to almost certain death. Rather would he have sent a thousand elders to guard him to the mountains, for none loved Joseph better than did Brigham Young.

It was one of those cases in which Providence over-rules for the accomplishment of its wiser purposes. A triumphant career leading to empire was most in accordance with human desires, but from the hour of his death, the Church realized that a martyr's blood was necessary to consecrate a new dispensation of the gospel. Christ was a greater success than Mohammed; Joseph was more immortal in his martyr's gore than he had been in the seat at Washington. The Church mourns the event to this day—ever will look upon it as one of the darkest of earth's tragedies, but all acknowledge the hand of God in it.

Brigham was away with the majority of the Twelve when the martyrdom took place. Two only were in Nauvoo; they were Willard Richards and John Taylor. Both of these were in prison with the Prophet when the assassins, with painted faces, broke into Carthage gaol, overpowered the guards, and martyred the brothers Joseph and Hyrum. No pen can describe the universal shock felt among the Saints, when the news burst upon them, and sped throughout the United States and Europe.

Brigham Young and Orson Pratt were together at Peterboro, N. H., at the house of Brother Bemet, when a letter from Nauvoo came to a Mr. Joseph Powers, giving particulars of the assassination. The rumor met them first at Salem. Awful as it was to him, the President too well realized that unless the Twelve were equal to the occasion, the Church was in danger of dissolution or a great schism. At best, the Saints must feel for a moment as sheep without a shepherd.

Those who have followed him in his eventful career, know that Brigham is always greatest on great occasions. He never fails in a trying hour. The disciples of Christ, with Peter at their head, went sorrowfully to their fishing nets after the crucifixion; but not so with these modern apostles. "The first thing that I thought of," says the President, "was whether Joseph had taken the keys of "the kingdom with him from the earth. Brother "Orson Pratt sat on my left; we were both leaning "back in our chairs. Bringing my hand down on "my knee, I said, the keys of the kingdom are right "here with the Church."

The President immediately started for Boston, where he held council with Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, and Wilford Woodruff, relative to their return to Nauvoo. Heber and Brigham remained there a week, awaiting the arrival of Apostle Lyman Wight. During their stay, they ordained, at one evening meeting, thirty-two elders. This act was conclusive evidence that these apostles did not intend to let the Church die.

As soon as Lyman Wight arrived, the three set out for Nauvoo, and at Albany they were joined by Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt and Wilford Woodruff.

A stupendous burden rested upon the shoulders of the Twelve. The Church had not only to be comforted in its great affliction, and made to realize by a sufficient manifestation of apostolic power, that the keys were "right here with the Church," but to establish an authorized succession. Sidney Rigdon was already at Nauvoo. He had been the second councilor to the Prophet, and Hyrum the first councilor, was a martyr with his brother. Sidney was now a claimant for the leadership. The Twelve knew that they should have first to grapple with this brilliant but unfit man, and knew that Sidney would, if possible, wreck the Church in his vainglorious ambitions.

Granting that the keys of the kingdom remained on earth, who held them? This was the all-important question before the Saints, when Brigham Young and the Twelve arrived at Nauvoo on the 6th of August, 1844.

# CHAPTER VIII.

SIDNEY RIGDON. BRIGHAM AND THE TWELVE TAKE THEIR PLACE AND LEAD THE CHURCH. THE DISCIPLES RECOGNIZE THE SPIRIT OF JOSEPH IN HIS SUCCESSOR. THE LAST DAYS OF NAUVOO.

Sidney Rigdon, the second councilor of the martyred Prophet, arrived at Nauvoo before the President of the Twelve. He had for some time been as an unstable staff to his chief, and the Saints were not in a frame of mind to look upon him as "the man whom God had called" to sustain the Church in that awful hour. But the vain-glorious Rigdon had come to claim the guardianship of the Church, in the absence of the majority of the Twelve. There were enough, however, of that quorum in Nauvoo to prevent Sidney from beguiling the people into an untimely action.

When Rigdon appeared before the congregation, he related a vision which he said the Lord had shown him concerning the situation of the Church, and declared that there must be a guardian chosen "to build up the kingdom to Joseph." He was the identical man, he said, that the prophets had sung about, wrote about and rejoiced over; he was to do the identical work that had been the theme of all the prophets in every preceding generation.

Elder Parley P. Pratt remarked, "I am the "identical man the prophets never sung nor wrote "a word about."

Marks, the president of the stake, appointed a day for a special conference, for the purpose of choosing a guardian.

Willard Richards proposed waiting till the Twelve Apostles returned, and advised the people to "ask "wisdom of God."

Elder Grover proposed waiting to examine the revelation.

And thus the elders were variously moved.

Rigdon sought to evade coming in council with such men as Willard Richards, Parley P. Pratt, John Taylor and George A. Smith, but at length he was forced to a meeting with them. Entering, he paced the room and said:

"Gentlemen, you are used up; gentlemen, you are "divided; the anti-Mormons have got you; the "brethren are voting every way, some for James, "some for Deming, some for Coulson and some for "Bedell. The anti-Mormons have got you; you "can't stay in the country; everything is in confusion; you can do nothing. You lack a great "leader; you want a head; and unless you unite "upon that head, you're blown to the four winds. "The anti-Mormons will carry the election; a guardian must be appointed."

"Brethren," said George A. Smith, "Elder Rigdon "is entirely mistaken. There is no division; the "brethren are united; the election will be unanimous, and the friends of law and order will be "elected by a thousand majority. There is no

" occasion to be alarmed. Brother Rigdon is inspir-" ing fears there are no grounds for."

With the return of President Young and the remainder of the Twelve vanished Rigdon's last chance of being elected Guardian of the Church; " but," says Apostle Woodruff, in his journal, " when we landed in the city a deep gloom seemed " to rest over Nauvoo which we never experienced " before. The minds of the Saints were agitated; " their hearts sorrowful, and darkness seemed to " cloud their path. They felt like sheep without a " shepherd. Their beloved prophet having been " taken away."

President Young immediately called a special conference, to give Sidney Rigdon the opportunity to lay before the Church his claims for the leadership. It was August 8th, 1844. That day was practically to be decided who was to " lead Israel."

At the hour appointed, Sidney took his position in a wagon, about two rods in front of the stand, where sat the Twelve. For nearly two hours he harrangued the Saints upon the subject of choosing a guardian for the Church. But his words fell upon the congregation like an untimely shower.

" The Lord hath not chosen you!" Thus felt the Mormon Israel as his words died upon the ear.

At two P. M. the second meeting was convened.

" Attention all!" The voice rang over that vast congregation; it was the voice of Brigham Young. " This congregation," he said, " makes me think of " the days of King Benjamin, the multitude being so " great that all could not hear. For the first time

“ in my life, for the first time in your lives, for the
“ first time in the Kingdom of God, in the nine-
“ teenth century, without a prophet at our head, do
“ I step forth to act in my calling in connection
“ with the quorum of the Twelve, as apostles of
“ Jesus Christ unto this generation—apostles whom
“ God has called by revelation through the Prophet
“ Joseph Smith, who are ordained and annointed
“ to bear off the keys of the Kingdom of God in
“ all the world. This people have hitherto walked
“ by sight and not by faith. You have had a
“ prophet as the mouth of the Lord to speak to
“ you, but he has sealed his testimony with
“ his blood, and now for the first time are you
“ called to walk by faith—not by sight.

“ The first position I take in behalf of the Twelve
“ and the people is to ask a few questions. I ask
“ the Latter-day Saints, do you, as individuals, at
“ this time, want to choose a prophet or a guardian?
“ Inasmuch as our prophet and patriarch are taken
“ from our midst, do you want some one to guard,
“ to guide and lead you through this world into the
“ kingdom of God or not? All who want some
“ person to be a guardian, or a prophet, a spokes-
“ man, or something else, signify it by raising the
“ right hand. (No votes).

“ When I came to this stand I had peculiar feel-
“ ings and impressions. The faces of this people
“ seem to say, we want a shepherd to guide and lead
“ us through this world. All who want to draw
“ away a party from the Church after them, let
“ them do it if they can, but they will not prosper.

“ If any man thinks he has influence among this

" people, to lead away a party, let him try it, and he " will find out that there is power with the apostles, " which will carry them off victorious through all " the world, and build up and defend the Church " and kingdom of God.

" What do the people want? I feel as though I " wanted the privilege to weep and mourn for thirty " days at least, then rise up, shake myself, and tell " the people what the Lord wants of them. Although " my heart is too full of mourning to launch forth " into business transactions and the organization of " the Church, I feel compelled this day to step forth " in discharge of those duties God has placed upon " me.

" There has been much said about Brother Rigdon " being President of the Church, and leading the " people, being the head, &c. Brother Rigdon has " come 1,600 miles to tell you what he wants to do " for you. If the people want Brother Rigdon to " lead them, they may have him; but, I say unto " you, the Twelve have the keys of the kingdom " of God in all the world.

" The Twelve are pointed out by the finger of " God. Here is Brigham, have his knees ever " faltered? Have his lips ever quivered? Here is " Heber and the rest of the Twelve; an independent " body, who have the keys of the priesthood, the " keys of the kingdom of God to deliver to all the " world; this is true, so help me God! They stand " next to Joseph, and are as the first presidency of " the Church.

" I do not know whether my enemies will take " my life or not, and I do not care, for I wait to be " with the man I love.

" You cannot fill the office of a prophet, seer and
" revelater; God must do this. You are like children
" without a father and sheep without a shepherd.
" You must not appoint any man at your
" head; if you should the Twelve must ordain him.
" You cannot appoint a man at your head; but if
" you do want any other man or men to lead you,
" take them, and we will go our way to build up the
" kingdom in all the world.

" I tell you there is an over anxiety to hurry
" matters here. You cannot take any man and put
" him at the head; you would scatter the Saints to
" the four winds; you would sever the priesthood.
" So long as we remain as we are, the heavenly head
" is in constant co-operation with us; and if you go
" out of that course God will have nothing to do
" with you.

" Again, perhaps some think that our beloved
" Brother Rigdon would not be honored, would not
" be looked to as a friend; but if he does right, and
" remains faithful, he will not act against our counsel
" nor we against his, but act together, and we shall
" be as one.

" I again repeat, no man can stand at our head
" except God reveals it from the heavens.

" I have spared no pains to learn my lesson of the
" kingdom in this world, and in the eternal worlds.
" If it were not so I could go and live in peace;
" but for the gospel and your sakes, I shall stand in
" my place. We are liable to be killed all the day
" long. You never lived by faith.

" Brother Joseph, the Prophet, has laid the foundation
" of a great work, and we will build upon it.

"You have never seen the quorums built one upon "another. There is an Almighty foundation laid. "And we can build a kingdom such as there never "was in the world; we can build a kingdom faster "than Satan can kill the Saints off.

"Elder Rigdon claims to be a spokesman to the "Prophet. Very well, he was; but can he now act "in office? If he wants now to be a spokesman to "the Prophet, he must go to the other side of the "veil, for the Prophet is there; but Elder Rigdon is "here. Why will Elder Rigdon be a fool? I am "plain.

"I will ask, who has stood next to Joseph and "Hyrum? I have, and I will stand next to them. "We have a head, and that head is the apostleship, "the spirit and the power of Joseph, and we can "now begin to see the necessity of that apostleship.

"Brother Rigdon was at his side—not above. "no man has a right to counsel the Twelve but "Joseph Smith. Think of these things. You cannot appoint a prophet, but if you will let the "Twelve remain and act in their place, the keys of "the kingdom are with them, and they can manage "the affairs of the Church, and direct all things "aright."

Much more was said by the President, but this brief synopsis will be sufficient to show the master spirit stepping into the place to which destiny had appointed him. On all these grand occasions of his life, Brigham Young has towered above his fellows, not so much in the character of a "spokesman," as in that of a great and potent leader, whose spirit could inspire a whole people with his own matchless confidence and energy.

That day, "all Israel" felt that the spirit which had moved Joseph to his work was living in Brigham Young. Apostle Cannon, describing the circumstance, says:

"It was the first sound of his voice which the " people had heard since he had gone east on his " mission, and the effect upon them was most won- " derful. Who that was present on that occasion " can ever forget the impression it made upon them? " If Joseph had risen from the dead, and again " spoken in their hearing, the effect could not have " been more startling than it was to many present " at that meeting; it was the voice of Joseph him- " self; and not only was it the voice of Joseph " which was heard, but it seemed in the eyes of the " people as though it was the very person of Joseph " which stood before them. A more wonderful and " miraculous event than was wrought that day in " the presence of that congregation we never heard " of. The Lord gave his people a testimony that " left no room for doubt, as to who was the man he " had chosen to lead them. They both saw and " heard with their natural eyes and ears; and then " the words which were uttered came, accompanied " by the convincing power of God to their hearts, " and they were filled with the Spirit and with great " joy. There had been gloom and, in some hearts " probably, doubt and uncertainty; but now it was " plain to all that here was the man upon whom the " Lord had bestowed the necessary authority to act " in their midst in Joseph's stead."

That day saved the Church. The anti-Mormons had imagined that it was only necessary to murder the Prophet and Mormonism would cease to have a name in the earth. But "the blood of the Prophet "was the seed of the Church;" and a great man had risen to fulfill his mission.

The Twelve was sustained as the first Presidency by the unanimous vote of the people. Rigdon left for Pittsburgh, and gathered around him a few of his disciples, while the apostles at Nauvoo set to work to enlarge their superstructure.

"You have never seen the quorums built one "upon another," Brigham had said on that great occasion. "There is an almighty foundation laid, "and we will build a kingdom such as there never "was in the world."

This was more fully comprehended when, at the next October conference, there were about sixty high priests and four hundred and thirty seventies ordained. And to-day his words have still a broader meaning, for there are now nearly one hundred quorums of the seventies, who constitute the grand missionary army of the Church, under the Twelve Apostles.

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But turn we now to the more secular history of the Mormon people.

On the 27th of September, 1844, Governor Ford marched five hundred troops into Nauvoo. He came ostensibly to bring the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith to justice; for as they were, at the time of their assassination, State prisoners, under the plighted faith of the State, the Governor could do nothing less than support an investigation. On the day of his arrival, Brigham Young received his commission as Lieut.-General of the Nauvoo Legion, previously held by Joseph Smith, and the next day the following was sent to His Excellency:

"Head-quarters Nauvoo Legion,
Sept. 28, 1844.

SIR: The review of the Nauvoo Legion will take place this day at 12 M., at which time the Commander-in-chief, with his staff, is respectfully solicited to accept an escort from the Legion, and be present at the review.

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
*Lieut.-Gen. Nauvoo Legion.*"

The Lieut.-General reviewed the Legion, the Governor, General J. J. Harden and Staff present. Salutes were fired, and the Legion made a soldier-like appearance; several of its staff officers, however, came in uniform but without arms, which the Governor regarded as a hint to remind him of his having disarmed the Legion previous to the massacre of Joseph Smith.

Soon afterwards the Governor issued the following very suggestive order, accompanied with instructions:

State of Illinois, Executive Department,
Springfield, Oct. 9th, 1844.

To Lieut.-General Brigham Young, of the Nauvoo Legion.

SIR: It may be probable that there may be further disturbances in Hancock County by those opposed to the prosecutions against the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. They may combine together in arms to subvert justice and prevent those prosecutions from going on. They may also attack or resist the civil authorities of the State in that county, and they may attack some of the settlements or people there with violence.

The sheriff of the county may want a military force to guard the court and protect it, or its officers or the jurors thereof, or the witnesses attending court, from the violence of a mob.

In all these cases you are hereby ordered and directed to hold in readiness a sufficient force, under your command, of the Nauvoo Legion, to act under the direction of the said sheriff, for the purpose aforesaid; and also to suppress mobs which may be collected in said county to injure the persons or property of any of the citizens.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the Seal of State, the day and year first herein above written.

Thomas Ford,
*Governor and Commander-in-chief.*"

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"The inclosed order is one of great delicacy to execute. I have conversed with Mr. Backenstos and others, and my opinion is the same as theirs, that employing the Legion, even legally, may call down the vengeance of the people against your city. If it should be the means of getting up a civil war in Hancock, I do not know how much force I could bring to the aid of the Government. A force to be efficient would have to be called out as volunteers; a draft would bring friends and enemies alike. I called for twenty-five hundred before; and, by ordering out independent companies, got four hundred and seventy-five. three of those companies, the most efficient, have been broken up, and would refuse to go again. I should anticipate but a small force to be raised by volunteers. I would not undertake to march a drafted militia there. Two-thirds of them would join the enemy. The enclosed order is more intended as a permission to use the Legion, in the manner indicated, if upon consideration of the whole matter it is thought advisable, than a compulsory command.

Your most wise and discreet councilors and the county officers will have to act according to their best judgment.

THOMAS FORD."

This order, with the private instructions, is very significant, in connection with the history of the Mormons in Missouri and Illinois. Constitutionally they were in the right. The murder of the Prophet and his brother had brought them into the service of the State. Thus employed, Brigham Young and the legion could have taken care of their people, and, if necessary, could have maintained the Governor through the issue of a civil war. This would, however, have given Illinois to the dominance of the Mormons. Hence the "delicacy" of his Excellency in calling the legion into service; doing substantially what Joseph Smith had done, which in him had been construed as high treason against the State,

The anti-Mormons were keen to perceive the advantage which the people of Nauvoo had gained, not only from the intrinsic righteousness of their cause, but in their patient bearing of intolerable wrongs. It became their policy from that moment to repeal the charter of Nauvoo, and the charter of the legion. This the Legislature of Illinois did in the month of January, 1845. The Mormon people were now virtually outlawed, and all constitutional powers for their preservation taken away from them.

The members of the Legislature were but too ready to execute any plan proposed for the extinction of the Mormon community. One of the members of the Senate, Jacob C. Davis, was under indictment for the murder of the Prophet and his brother. In relation to this action of the Legislature, the Attorney General of the State, Josiah Lamborn, wrote to President Young thus:

"I have always considered that your enemies "have been prompted by religious and political "prejudices, and by a desire for plunder and blood, "more than for the common good. By the repeal "of your charter, and by refusing all amendments "and modifications, our Legislature has given a "kind of sanction to the barbarous manner in which "you have been treated. Your two representatives "exerted themselves to the extent of their ability "in your behalf, but the tide of popular passion and "frenzy was too strong to be resisted. It is truly a "melancholy spectacle to witness the law-makers of "a sovereign State condescending to pander to the "vices, ignorance and malevolence of a class of "people who are at all times ready for riot, murder "and rebellion."

Of Jacob C. Davis, he said:

"Your Senator, Jacob C. Davis, has done much "to poison the minds of members against anything "in your favor. He walks at large, in defiance of "law, an indicted murderer. If a Mormon was in "his position, the Senate would afford no protection, "but he would be dragged forth to the gaol or to "the gallows, or to be shot down by a cowardly and "brutal mob."

On the 19th of May the trial of the men indicted by the grand jury for the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, was begun at Carthage, Hon. Richard M. Young of Quincy on the bench. The men on trial were: Col. Levi Williams, a Baptist preacher; Thomas C. Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*; Jacob C. Davis, Senator; Mark Aldrich and William N. Grover. They were outrageously held to bail, upon their *personal recognizances*, in the unprecedentedly insignificant sum of one thousand dollars each, to make their appearance in the court each day of the term. They made two affidavits, asking for the array of jurors to be quashed, obtained the discharge of the county commissioners, the sheriff and his deputies, and the appointment by the court of two special officers to select jurors. Ninety-six were summoned, out of whom the defence chose a suitable panel. One of the lawyers for the accused, Calvin A. Warren, in his defence of them, said: "If the prisoners were guilty of murder, then "he himself was guilty. It was the public opinion "that the Smiths ought to be killed, and public "opinion made the laws; consequently it was not "murder to kill them!" This was strange doctrine to be affirmed in a great murder case, in which the State was a party, not in an ordinary but an extraordinary sense; affirmed too and sustained in open court.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the assassins were "honorably acquitted!"

But the tragedy of those days was not without an occasional relief. One of the richest practical jokes ever perpetrated is thus related by one of the actors:

"By the time we were at work in the Nauvoo "Temple," says President Young, "officiating in the "ordinances, the mob had learned that 'Mormon-"'ism' was not dead, as they had supposed. We "had completed the walls of the temple, and the "attic story from about half way up of the first "windows, in about fifteen months. It went up "like magic, and we then commenced officiating in "the ordinances. Then the mob commenced to "hunt for other victims; they had already killed "the Prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum in "Carthage gaol, while under the pledge of the State "for their safety, and now they wanted Brigham, "the President of the Twelve Apostles, who were "then acting as the Presidency of the Church. I "was in my room in the temple; it was the south-"east corner of the upper story. I learned that a "posse was lurking around the temple, and that the "United States Marshal was waiting for me to "come down, whereupon I knelt down and asked "my Father in heaven, in the name of Jesus, to "guide and protect me, that I might live to prove "advantageous to the Saints; I arose from my "knees, and sat down in my chair. There came a "rap at my door. Come in, I said; and Bro.

" George D. Grant, who was then engaged driving
" my carriage and doing chores for me, entered the
" room. Said he, 'Brother Brigham, do you know
" 'that a posse and the United States Marshal are
" 'here?' I told him that I had heard so. On entering
" the room, Brother Grant left the door open.
" Nothing came into my mind what to do until,
" looking across the hall, I saw Brother William
" Miller leaning against the wall. As I
" stepped towards the door I beckoned to him; he
" came. Brother William, I said, the Marshal is
" here for me; will you go and do just as I tell
" you? If you will I will serve them a trick. I
" knew that Brother Miller was an excellent man,
" perfectly reliable, and capable of carrying out my
" project. Here, take my cloak, said I; but it happened
" to be Brother Heber C. Kimball's; our
" cloaks were alike in color, fashion and size. I
" threw it around his shoulders, and told him to
" wear my hat and accompany Brother George D.
" Grant. He did so. George, you step into the
" carriage, said I to Brother Grant, and look
" towards Brother Miller, and say to him, as though
" you were addressing me, are you ready to ride?
" You can do this, and they will suppose Brother
" Miller to be me, and proceed accordingly; which
" they did. Just as Brother Miller was entering
" the carriage, the Marshal stepped up to
" him, and, placing his hand upon his shoulder, said,
" 'You are my prisoner.' Brother William entered
" the carriage, and said to the Marshal, 'I am going
" to the Mansion House, won't you ride with
" me?' They both went to the Mansion House.

"There were my sons Joseph A., Brigham Jr., and "Brother Heber C. Kimball's boys and others, who "were looking on, and all seemed at once to under"stand and participate in the joke. They followed "the carriage to the Mansion House, and gathered "around Brother Miller with tears in their eyes, "saying, father, or President Young, where are you "going?' Brother Miller looked at them kindly, "but made no reply; and the Marshal really "thought he had got 'Brother Brigham.'

"Lawyer Edmonds, who was then staying at the "Mansion House, appreciating the joke, volunteered "to Brother Miller to go to Carthage with him, "and see him safe through.

"When they arrived within two or three miles "of Carthage, the Marshal, with his posse, stopped. "They arose in their carriages, buggies and wagons, "and, like a tribe of Indians going to battle, or as "if they were a pack of demons, yelling and shout"ing, exclaimed: 'We've got him; we've got him; "'we've got him!'

"When they reached Carthage, the Marshal took "the supposed Brigham into an upper room of the "hotel, and placed a guard over him, at the same "time telling those around that he had got him. "Brother Miller remained in the room until they "bid him come to supper. While there, parties "came in, one after the other, and asked for Brig"ham. Brother Miller was pointed out to them. "So it continued, until an apostate Mormon, by the "name of Thatcher, who had lived in Nauvoo, "came in, sat down and asked the landlord where "Brigham was.

"'That is Mr. Young,' said the landlord, pointing " across the table to Brother Miller.

"'Where? I can't see any one that looks like " 'Brigham,' Thatcher replied.

"The landlord told him it was that fleshy man, " eating.

"'Oh, H—l!' exclaimed Thatcher, 'that's not " 'Brigham; that's William Miller, one of my old " 'neighbors.'

"Upon hearing this the landlord went, and, tap- " ping the sheriff on the shoulder, took him a few " steps to one side, and said:

"'You have made a mistake. That is not Brig- " ham Young. It is William Miller, of Nauvoo.

"The Marshal, very much astonished, exclaimed: " 'Good heavens! and he passed for Brigham.' He " then took Brother Miller into a room, and, turning " to him, said: 'What in h—l is the reason you " 'did not tell me your name?'

"'You have not asked me my name,' Brother " Miller replied.

"'Well, what is your name?' said the sheriff, " with another oath.

"'My name is William Miller.'

"'I thought your name was Brigham Young. Do " 'you say this for a fact?'

"'Certainly I do,' returned Brother Miller.'

"'Then,' said the Marshal, 'Why did you not " 'tell me that before?'

"'I was under no obligation to tell you,' replied " Miller.

"The Marshal, in a rage, walked out of the room, " followed by Brother Miller, who walked off in

"company with Lawyer Edmonds, Sheriff Backen-
"stos and others, who took him across lots to a
"place of safety; and this is the real birth of the
"story of 'Bogus Brigham,' as far as I can recol-
"lect."

The energy, referred to by the President in the completion of the temple, signifies that the authorities were anxious for the Saints to receive their endowments before their removal, which was every day becoming more matured and pressing in their minds. They did not wish to make their flight in haste, and it was pretty evident that they had not a moment to spare for a well-planned exodus.

It may seem strange to some, who do not appreciate the earnest, genuine faith of these singular people, that they should thus finish their temple merely, as it would seem, to leave it as a monument for a triumphant mob. But the Saints had been commanded by revelation to build that temple; and the administration of their ordinances was of more than earthly importance to them,

From their retreats, where they had secreted themselves to avoid arrest, President Young and the apostles came forth, on the morning of Saturday, the 24th of May, 1845, to lay the cap-stone on the south-east corner of the temple.

"The singers sang their sweetest notes," writes one of the apostles; "their voices thrilled the
"hearts of the assemblage, and the music of the
"band, which played on the occasion, never sounded
"more charming; and when President Young
"placed the stone in its position and said:

"'The last stone is now laid upon the temple,

" 'and I pray the Almighty, in the name of Jesus, " 'to defend us in this place and sustain us until " 'the temple is finished, and we have all got our " 'endowments.' And the whole congregation " shouted, 'Hosanna! Hosanna! Hosanna, to God " 'and the Lamb, amen, amen, and amen;' and " repeated these words the second and third time. " The Spirit of God descended upon the people; " gladness filled every heart, and tears of joy " coursed down many cheeks. The words of praise " were uttered with earnestness and fervor; it was " a relief to many to be able to give expression to " the feelings with which their hearts were over- " charged. Altogether the scene was a very impress- " ive one, and we doubt not that angels looked upon " it and rejoiced."

" So let it be," said President Young, concluding the ceremonies; " this is the seventh day of the " week, or the Jewish Sabbath. It is the day on " which the Almighty finished his work and rested " from his labors. We have finished the walls " of the temple, and may rest to-day from our " labors."

The workmen were dismissed for the day, the congregation dispersed, and the Twelve Apostles returned to their places of retreat.

Governor Ford, in a letter to President Young, under date of April 8th, 1845, urging the migration of the Mormons to California, said:

" If you can get off by yourselves you may enjoy " peace; but, surrounded by such neighbors, I con- " fess that I do not see the time when you will be " permitted to enjoy quiet. I was informed by

"General Joseph Smith last Summer that he con-"templated a removal west; and from what I "learned from him and others at that time, I think, "if he had lived, he would have begun to move in "the matter before this time. I would be willing "to exert all my feeble abilities and influence to "further your wiews in this respect if it was the "wish of your people.

"I would suggest a matter in confidence. Cali-"fornia now offers a field for the prettiest enterprise "that has been undertaken in modern times. It is "but sparsely inhabited, and by none but the Indian "or imbecile Mexican Spaniards. I have not en-"quired enough to know how strong it is in men "and means. But this we know, that if conquered "from Mexico, that country is so physically weak "and morally distracted that she could never send "a force there to reconquer it. Why should it not "be a pretty operation for your people to go out "there, take possession of and conquer a portion "of the vacant country, and establish an independ-"ent Government of your own, subject only to the "laws of nations? You would remain there a long "time before you would be disturbed by the prox-"imity of other settlements. If you conclude to "do this, your design ought not to be known, or "otherwise it would become the duty of the United "States to prevent your emigration. If once you "cross the line of the United States Territories, "you would be in no danger of being interfered "with."

Knowing the intentions of Joseph Smith to remove the Mormon people, Senator Douglass and others had given similar advice to him; and the very fact that such men looked upon the Mormons as quite equal to the establishment of an independent nationality, is most convincing proof that not their wrong-doing, but their empire-founding genius has been, and still is, the cause of the "irrepressible conflict" between them and the gentiles.

The advice of Governor Ford, however, was neither sought nor required. Brigham had nearly matured every part of the movement, shaping also the emigration from the British mission; but the Rocky Mountains, not California proper, was the place chosen for his people's retreat.

It was then that Brigham Young addressed the famous petition to President Polk and the Governors of all the States, excepting Missouri and Illinois, changing simply the address to each person. Here it is:

NAUVOO, April 24th, 1845.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES K. POLK,
President of the United States.

HON. SIR: Suffer us, in behalf of a disfranchised and long afflicted people, to prefer a few suggestions for your serious consideration, in hope of a friendly and unequivocal response, at as early a period as may suit your convenience, and the extreme urgency of the case seems to demand.

It is not our present design to detail the multiplied and aggravated wrongs that we have received in the midst of a nation that gave us birth. Most of us have long been loyal citizens of some one of these United States, over which you have the honor to preside, while a few only claim the privilege of peaceable and lawful emigrants, designing to make the Union our permanent residence.

We say we are a disfranchised people. We are privately told by the highest authorities of the State that it is neither prudent nor safe for us to vote at the polls; still we have continued to maintain our right to vote, until the blood of our best men has been shed, both in Missouri and Illinois, with impunity.

You are doubtless somewhat familiar with the history of our expulsion from the State of Missouri, wherein scores of our brethren were massacred. Hundreds died through want and sickness, occasioned by their unparalleled sufferings. Some millions worth of our property was destroyed, and some fifteen thousand souls fled for their lives to the then hospitable and peaceful shores of Illinois; and that the State of Illinois granted to us a liberal charter, for the term of perpetual succession, under whose provision private rights have become invested, and the largest city in the State has grown up, numbering about twenty thousand inhabitants.

But, sir, the startling attitude recently assumed by the State of Illinois, forbids us to think that her designs are any less vindictive than those of Missouri. She has already used the military of the State, with the executive at their head, to coerce and surrender up our best men to unparalleled murder, and that too under the most sacred pledges of protection and safety. As a salve for such unearthly perfidy and guilt, she told us, through her highest executive officers, that the laws should be magnified and the murderers brought to justice; but the blood of her innocent victims had not been wholly wiped from the floor of the awful arena, ere the Senate of that State rescued one of the indicted actors in that mournful tragedy from the sheriff of Hancock County, and gave him a seat in her hall of legislation; and all who were indicted by the grand jury of Hancock County for the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, are suffered to roam at large, watching for further prey.

To crown the climax of those bloody deeds, the State has repealed those chartered rights, by which we might have lawfully defended ourselves against aggressors. If we defend ourselves hereafter against violence, whether it comes under the shadow of law or otherwise (for we have reason to expect it in both ways), we shall then be charged with treason and suffer the penalty; and if we continue passive and non-resistant, we must certainly expect to perish, for our enemies have sworn it.

And here, sir, permit us to state that General Joseph Smith, during his short life, was arraigned at the bar of his country about fifty times, charged with criminal offences, but was acquitted every time by his country; his enemies, or rather his religious opponents, almost invariably being his judges. And we further testify that, as a people, we are law-abiding, peaceable and without crime; and we challenge the world to prove to the contrary; and while other less cities in Illinois have had special courts instituted to try their criminals, we have been stript of every source of arraigning marauders and murderers who are prowling around to destroy us, except the common magistracy.

With these facts before you, sir, will you write to us without delay as a father and friend, and advise us what to do. We are members of the same great confederacy. Our fathers, yea, some of us, have fought and bled for our country, and we love her constitution dearly.

In the name of Israel's God, and by virtue of multiplied ties of country and kindred, we ask your friendly interposition in our favor. Will it be too much for us to ask you to convene a special session of Congress, and furnish us an asylum, where we can enjoy our rights of conscience and religion unmolested? Or, will you, in a special message to that body, when convened, recommend a remonstrance against such unhallowed acts of oppression and expatriation as this people have continued to receive from the States of Missouri and Illinois? Or will you favor us by your personal influence and by your official rank? Or will you express your views concerning what is called the "Great Western Measure" of colonizing the Latter-day Saints in Oregon, the north-western Territory, or some location remote from the States, where the hand of oppression shall not crush every noble principle and extinguish every patriotic feeling?

And now, honored sir, having reached out our imploring hands to you, with deep solemnity, we would importune you as a father, a friend, a patriot and the head of a mighty nation, by the constitution of American liberty, by the blood of our fathers who have fought for the independence of this republic, by the blood of the martyrs which has been shed in our midst, by the wailings of the widows and orphans, by our murdered fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children, by the dread of immediate destruction from secret combinations now forming for our overthrow, and by every endearing tie that binds man to man and renders life bearable, and that too, for aught we know, for the last time,—that you will lend your immediate aid to quell the violence of mobocracy, and exert your influence to establish us as a people in our civil and religious rights, where we now are, or in some part of the United States, or in some place remote therefrom, where we may colonize in peace and safety as soon as circumstances will permit.

We sincerely hope that your future prompt measures towards us will be dictated by the best feelings that dwell in the bosom of humanity, and the blessings of a grateful people, and many ready to perish, shall come upon you.

We are, sir, with great respect, your obedient servants,

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
WILLARD RICHARDS,
ORSEN SPENCER,
ORSEN PRATT, } *Committee*,
W. W. PHELPS,
N. W. BABBITT,
J. M. BERNHISEL,

In behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, at Nauvoo, Illinois.

P. S.—As many of our communications, post marked at Nauvoo, have failed of their destination, and the mails around us have been intercepted by our enemies, we shall send this to some distant office by the hand of a special messenger.

The appeal itself is not a mere attempt at rhetoric. The very inelegance of multiplied ties and sacred objects invoked and crowded upon each other, to touch the hearts of men in power, is truly affecting. There is a tragic burden in the circumstances and urgency of the case. But the prayer was unanswered.

# CHAPTER IX.

THE REMNANT AT NAUVOO. THE GREAT BATTLE. MARCH OF THE MOB ARMY INTO THE DOOMED CITY: DESCRIPTION BY GOVERNOR FORD. THOMAS L. KANE'S FAMOUS PICTURE OF NAUVOO, AFTER THE FALL, AND THE SCENE OF EXTERMINATION.

Scarcely less eventful than that of the main body of the Church had been the history of the remnant at Nauvoo, after the departure of the Twelve; a condensed narrative of which we must give, culminating in the famous "Battle of Nauvoo," and the evacuation of that devoted city.

In April, ere the vanguard of the pioneers had got fairly on their journey west, the anti-Mormons again began to rise, and Governor Ford sent a small force into Hancock County, ostensibly to preserve the peace, but really to spur the Mormons in their flight. On the 16th of that month, the officer in command addressed the following to the editor of the *Hancock Eagle:*

W. E. MATLOCK, ESQ.: Will you permit me, through the medium of your paper, to announce to the citizens of Hancock, that I have been directed by His Excellency, Governor Ford, to disband the force under my command, on the 1st of May proximo. It seems to be the understanding of the

Executive, and the State at large, that the time stipulated for the removal of the Mormons will expire on that day. I indulge a hope that the understanding so general may not be disappointed.

The removal of the entire Mormon population has been looked forward to as an event that could alone restore peace and quiet to this portion of our State; and for the peace of the inhabitants, and honor of the State, public expectation must be gratified.

With great respect, I am, &c.,

W. B. WARREN,

*Major Commanding Ill. Vol.*

As the reader is aware, there was no such terms of stipulation, that the Mormons would evacuate their city by the 1st of May. They had been leaving, company after company, as fast as possible. It was not in human efforts to do more than they had done. One of Major Warren's reports in the *Quincy Whig* of May 20th, 1846, will give to the reader the other side of the picture:

"The Mormons are leaving the city with all possible dispatch. During the week four hundred "teams have crossed at three points, or about 1,350 "souls. The demonstrations made by the Mormon "population are unequivocal. They are leaving "the State, and preparing to leave, with every "means God and nature have placed in their hands. "This ought to be satisfactory.

"A man of near sixty years of age, living about "seven miles from this place (Nauvoo), was taken "from his house a few nights since, stripped of his "clothing, and his back cut to pieces with a whip,

"for no other reason than because he was a Mor-
"mon, and too old to make a successful resistance.
"Conduct of this kind would disgrace a horde of
"savages."

Early in June a public meeting was called at Carthage to make arrangements for the fourth of July, but the "crusade" coming uppermost, even above the celebration of our national independence, the meeting resolved itself into an anti-Mormon one, and delegates were appointed to hold a conference with a committee of the "new settlers" who were succeeding the Mormons in Nauvoo. Accordingly, a delegation from Nauvoo attended the conference at Carthage on the 12th of June, where they found an armed force ready to march against their city; but, after a hurried consultation, it was agreed to march them within four miles of Nauvoo, giving the new citizens the privilege of sending a committee of nine, to meet a similar committee of nine from the anti-Mormons, to confer on the all-prevailing subject.

The anti-Mormons stated that they wished to march their force into Nauvoo, to see if the Mormons were leaving, but the new citizens' committee promptly objected. It was then proposed that companies of fifty at a time should march in, which was also rejected, and it was declared that no armed force, without legal authority, would be permitted to enter the city.

All manner of illegal proceedings were resorted to by the mob, to get into custody the most active members of the new citizens' committee, and they went even so far as to threaten to lynch them. At length W. E. Clifford, President of the Trustees of the town of Nauvoo, wrote a letter to Governor Ford for assistance, to protect the town against the mob faction.

In response to the trustees of Nauvoo, the Governor sent Major Parker to defend the city. Major Parker issued a proclamation to Hancock County, commanding all good citizens to return to their homes.

Previous to this, the mob had got a certain John Carlin, till then unknown to fame, deputized as a special constable to serve writs upon members of the new citizens' committee, and by this time the ambitious mobocrat had become sufficiently famous to reply to the proclamation, placing himself above its authority. Major Parker answered that, if Carlin's posse did not disperse, he should regard them as a mob, and treat them as such; to which Carlin rejoined that he should do the same with Parker and his men. Nor was the mobocrat worsted by the State authorities, for he raised an army of a thousand men, officered and equipped for a campaign, and gave the command of it to Colonel Singleton. Major Parker now, in behalf of the State, concluded to consider Carlin and his compeers his equals, and to make a treaty with them; and, in order that they might be fully satisfied, he agreed to all the terms of their officers.

Colonel Singleton submitted the propositions of the treaty to his men, but they manifested their disapprobation so decidedly that he resigned his command and published the following:

CARTHAGE, ILL.,
11 o'clock P. M., Sept. 8, 1846.

Messrs. SMITH, REYNOLDS AND PARKER,

GENTLEMEN: I have submitted to the officers of my command, for their ratification, the articles of peace this day concluded between us, and I am sorry that they have been rejected. I consider that the Mormon population in Nauvoo have agreed to as much as a reasonable or feeling man could ask. You will, therefore, consider me no longer connected in any way with the camp in its future proceedings. Col. Chittenden has likewise retired.

Respectfully yours, &c.,

JAMES W. SINGLETON.

The *Warsaw Signal* thus explained:

"While this compromise was under consideration "the aspect of affairs in the camp was gloomy in- "deed. The number of men were reduced to about "four hundred, and it required all the energies of "'old Tom' (Thomas S. Brockman) to keep them "together. When it was, however, fully understood "that the treaty had been rejected, the gloom wore "off, and all seemed anxious to bring things to an "immediate crisis."

Carlin thereupon appointed "Col. Brockman" to fill Col. Singleton's place, and the new commander, in a stirring speech, told the regulators he would lead them on if they would pledge themselves to obey his orders. "Old Tom," as he called himself, was described as the staff of the camp.

As soon as Brockman took command, he gave orders for marching. The mob had now again swelled to over a thousand, with many baggage wagons, and everything for a regular campaign.

The Mormons and the new citizens prepared themselves for the worst. On the 19th of September, 1846, at about half-past nine A. M., the watchmen posted on the tower of the temple announced that the mob was approaching Nauvoo on the Carthage road. Orders were given to the four companies into which the volunteers of Nauvoo had been organized to march out and meet the enemy. About noon the companies reached the copse of timber in Lott's Lane on the Carthage road, when Mayor John Wood, Major Flood, Dr. Conyers, and Messrs. Joel Rice and Benjamin Clifford, Jr., all of Quincy, arrived at Nauvoo. Major Flood having received a commission from the Governor to raise forces in Adam's County for the protection of Nauvoo, Mayor Wood recommended that they proceed to the mob camp to effect a compromise. This these gentlemen did, and held a conference with Carlin and Brockman, who made a written demand that Carlin should be allowed to arrest his men; that the Mormons should give up their arms and leave the State within thirty days, and that the anti-Mormons should station a force at their discretion in the city to see that the terms were complied with. The document was signed, John Carlin. Thus it will be seen that this now illustrious mobocrat actually dictated to a State, in civil war, including its Governor and militia.

As the Quincy peacemakers returned from the camp of the regulators, several cannon balls were fired over their heads.

Major Flood declining to accept the commission of the Governor, Benjamin Clifford of Quincy took command of the volunteers to defend Nauvoo.

The mob continued advancing, firing their cannon. At about five P. M., they halted, and shortly retired a short distance and camped for the night. During the night there was some skirmishing between the hostile forces.

Next day, September the 11th, with the overwhelming mob force within gun range of their defences, the citizens of Nauvoo anxiously waited for the reinforcement which Major Parker, upon leaving, gave them reasons to hope would be sent to their relief from the Governor. But no reinforcement came, and it was now too evident that they must rely upon their own resources.

The besieged, in their strait, remembered that there were two steamboat shafts which had lain for years on the banks of the Mississippi. These the citizens of Nauvoo hastily transformed into cannon.

The companies paraded at the Temple at an early hour, and Captain William Anderson chose a band of select men for flankers and sharpshooters, who were armed with repeating rifles. These proceeded to "Squire Wells," and organized under the name of the "Spartan band," with Anderson captain in command, and Alexander McRae second captain. They then moved to the La Harpe road and ambushed in a corn field.

The mob advanced in solid columns to the La Harpe road, when the Spartan band became nearly surrounded by their flankers, but the Spartans beat a retreat under a close fire, which they returned vigorously, and retired in good order, in spite of the enemy's artillery, which poured after them grape and canister. They retreated towards the town, where a line of defence had been hastily thrown up, under which they took shelter. The mob dispatched their horse to take possession of it, but were driven back by a spirited cannonade. Several times during the day the mob attempted to outflank the volunteers, but were as often checked by counter moves; and, after their last repulse, they retired to the brow of the hill and entrenched themselves for the night in the field of Hyrum Smith, the martyr.

During the night the defenders were not idle, having erected breastworks. In the morning a flag of truce was brought in, with a demand from Brockman for the surrender of the city. This was rejected, and then commenced the "Great Battle."

The defenders went into line early, each company taking up its respective position. Col. Johnson being now sick, the command fell upon Lieut.-Col. Wm. E. Cutler, with Daniel H. Wells as his aid. During the battle Captain Anderson, commander of the Spartan band, and his son, were killed. He died encouraging his men with his last words. The action lasted one hour and twenty minutes, when the mob retreated, carrying their dead and wounded in conveyances brought up; but his men were so exhausted that they laid down by their guns, unable to leave their position until they had received refreshments, so overpowering had been the excitement of the battle. As soon, however, as they were refreshed, and had taken care of their dead and wounded, the companies resumed the positions they had held in the morning, and repaired their defences in anticipation of another attack. The command of the Spartan band, after the fall of Anderson, devolved on Captains Alexander McRae and Almon L. Fuller.

The *Warsaw Signal*, the mob organ, in that day's bulletin said:

"The battle lasted from the time the first feint " was made, until our men were drawn off, an hour " and a quarter. Probably there is not on record " an instance of a longer continued militia fight. " The Mormons stood their ground manfully, but " from the little execution done by them, we infer " that they were not very cool or deliberate. Their " loss is uncertain, as they had taken special pains " to conceal the number of their dead and wounded."

Mayor Wood and his companions returned to Quincy after the Saturday's battle. They immediately called a public meeting, at which it was decided that a committee ofone hundred should go to settle the difficulties in Hancock County. On the Tuesday following the committee of one hundred arrived; but it was soon discovered by the defenders that they were the strongest anti-Mormons that Adams County could raise. It had been resolved that, if the Quincy committee did not succeed in expelling the citizens of Nauvoo by a treaty, they would join the mob force, for which reason Mayor Wood and his colleagues refused to be of their number.

Immediately after the arrival of the Quincy committee, a lengthy correspondence was exchanged, and the following treaty executed:

" Articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement made and entered into this 16th day of December, A. D. 1846, between Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Heywood and John S. Fullmer, trustees in trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, of the one part, Thomas B. Brockman, commander of the *posse*, and John Carlin, special constable and civil head of the *posse* of Hancock County, of the second part, and Andrew Johnson, chairman of the citizens of Quincy, of the third part:

1st.—The city of Nauvoo will surrender. The force of Col. Brockman to enter and take possession of the city to-morrow, the 12th of September, at three o'clock P. M.

2d.—The arms to be delivered to the Quincy committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river.

3d.—The Quincy committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence, and the officers of the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.

4th.—The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.

5th.—The Mormon population of the city to leave the State or disperse as soon as they can cross the river.

6th.—Five men, including the trustees of the Church (William Pickett not of their number), to be permitted to remain in the city for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

7th.—Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy committee to enter the city in the execution of their duty as soon as they think proper.

We, the undersigned, subscribe to, ratify, and confirm the foregoing articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, the day and year first above written.

ALMON W. BABBITT,
JOSEPH L. HEYWOOD,
JOHN S. FULLER,

Trustees in trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

ANDREW JOHNSON,
*Chairman of the Committee of Quincy.*

THOMAS S. BROCKMAN,
*Commanding Posse.*

JOHN CARLIN,
*Special Constable.*

The triumphal entrance of the mob into the doomed city is thus described by Governor Ford:

"The constable's *posse* marched in, with Brockman "at their head, consisting of about eight hundred "armed men, and six or seven hundred unarmed, "who came from motives of curiosity, to see the "once proud city of Nauvoo humbled and delivered "up to its enemies, and to the domination of a self-"constituted and irresponsible power. When the "*posse* arrived in the city, the leaders of it erected "themselves into a tribunal to decide who should "be forced away and who remain. Parties were dis-"patched to search for Mormon arms and for Mor-"mons, and to bring them to the judgment, where "they received their doom from the mouth of "Brockman, who then sat, a grim and unawed "tyrant, for the time. As a general rule, the Mor-"mons were ordered to leave within an hour or two

" hours; and by rare grace some of them were " allowed until next day, and in a few cases, longer.

"The treaty specified that the Mormons only " should be driven into exile. Nothing was said in " it concerning the new citizens who had, with the " Mormons, defended the city. But the *posse* no " sooner obtained possession than they commenced " expelling the new citizens. Some of them were " ducked in the river, being, in one or two instances, " actually baptized in the name of the leaders of " the mob; others were forcibly driven into the " ferry boats, to be taken over the river before the " bayonets of armed ruffians: and it is asserted that " the houses of most of them were broken open and " their property stolen during their absence. * *

"The Mormons had been forced away from their " houses unprepared for their journey; they and " their women and children had been thrown house- " less upon the Iowa shore, without provisions or " the means of getting them, or to get to places " where provisions might be obtained. It was now " the height of the sickly season. Many of them " were taken from sick beds, hurried into the boats, " and driven away by armed ruffians now exercising " the power of government. The best they could " do was to erect their tents on the bank of the " river, and there remain to take their chances of " perishing by hunger or by prevailing sickness. In " this condition the sick, without shelter, food, nour- " ishment, or medicines, died by scores. The mother " watched the sick babe without hope, and when it " sank under accumulated miseries, it was only to " be quickly followed by her other children, now "left without the least attention, for the men had "scattered out over the country seeking employ- "ment and the means of living."

The Governor also describes the mob commander-in-chief as "a Campbellite preacher, nominally be- "longing to the democratic party, a large, awkward, "uncouth, ignorant, semi-barbarian, ambitious of "office and bent upon acquiring notoriety." The very picture of this man, from the pen of the Executive of the State, at the head of, what the army of regulators assuredly must have considered themselves, the better people of the State, compared with the Mormons, at that time, in their exodus under Brigham Young, raising their battalion for the service of their country, gives such a strong contrast that the reader, however much indisposed, cannot but be provoked to admiration of the latter.

But the most eloquent and graphic picture of those days and scenes is from the historical discourse of Thomas L. Kane, without which no story of the Mormon exodus would be complete. He said:

"A few years ago, ascending the Upper Missis- "sippi, in the Autumn, when its waters were low, "I was compelled to travel by land past the region "of the rapids. My road lay through the half-breed "tract, a fine section of Iowa which the unsettled "state of its land-titles had appropriated as a "sanctuary for coiners, horse thieves, and other "outlaws. I had left my steamer at Keokuk, at the "foot of the lower fall, to hire a carriage, and to "contend for some fragments of a dirty meal with "the swarming flies, the only scavengers of the

" locality. From this place to where the deep " waters of the river return, my eye wearied to see " everywhere sordid vagabonds and idle settlers; " and a country marred, without being improved, by " their careless hands.

" I was descending the last hill-side upon my " journey, when a landscape in delightful contrast " broke upon my view. Half encircled by the bend " of the river, a beautiful city lay glittering in the " fresh morning sun; its bright new dwellings, set " in cool green gardens, ranging up around a stately " dome-shaped hill which was crowned by a noble " marble edifice whose high tapering spire was radi" ant with white and gold. The city appeared to " cover several miles; and beyond it, in the back" ground, there rolled off a fair country, chequered " by the careful lines of fruitful husbandry. The " unmistakable marks of industry, enterprise, and " educated wealth everywhere, made the scene one " of singular and most striking beauty.

" It was a natural impulse to visit this inviting " region. I procured a skiff, and, rowing across the " river, landed at the chief wharf of the city. No " one met me there. I looked and saw no one. I " could hear no one move, though the quiet every" where was such that I heard the flies buzz, and " the water-ripples break against the shallow of the " beach. I walked through the solitary streets. The " town lay as in a dream, under some deadening " spell of loneliness, from which I almost feared to " wake it; for plainly it had not slept long. There " was no grass growing up in the paved ways; rains " had not entirely washed away the prints of dusty " footsteps.

"Yet I went about unchecked. I went into " empty workshops, ropewalks and smithies. The " spinner's wheel was idle; the carpenter had gone " from his work-bench and shavings, his unfinished " sash and casing. Fresh bark was in the tanner's " vat, and the fresh-chopped lightwood stood piled " against the baker's oven. The blacksmith's shop " was cold; but his coal heap, and ladling pool, and " crooked water-horn were all there as if he had " just gone off for a holiday. No workpeople any-" where looked to know my errand. If I went into " the gardens, clinking the wicket-latch after me, " to pull the marigolds, heart's-ease and ladyslippers, " and draw a drink with the water-sodden water-" bucket and its noisy chain, or knocking off with " my stick the tall heavy-headed dahlias and sun-" flowers, hunting over the beds for cucumbers and " love-apples; no one called out to me from any " open window, or dog sprang forward to bark an " alarm. I could have supposed the people hidden " in their houses, but the doors were unfastened; " and when at last I timidly entered them, I found " dead ashes white upon the hearths, and had to " tread a-tiptoe, as if walking down the aisle of a " country church, to avoid rousing irreverent echoes " from the naked floors.

" On the outskirts of the town was the city grave-" yard; but there was no record of plague there; " nor did it in anywise differ much from other Pro-" testant American cemeteries. Some of the " mounds were not long sodded; some of the " stones were newly set, their dates recent, and their " black inscriptions glossy in the mason's hardly "dried letter-ink. Beyond the graveyards, out in "the fields, I saw on a spot hard by where the fruited boughs of a young orchard had been roughly "torn down, the still smouldering remains of a barbecue fire, that had been constructed of rails from "the fencing round it. It was the latest sign of life "there. Fields upon fields of heavy headed yellow "grain lay rotting ungathered upon the ground. "No one was at hand to take in their rich harvest. "As far as the eye could reach, they stretched "away—they sleeping, too, in the hazy air of "Autumn.

"Only two portions of the city seemed to suggest "the import of this mysterious solitude. On the "southern suburb, the houses looking out upon the 'country showed, by their splintered woodwork, "and walls battered to the foundation, that they "had lately been the mark of a destructive cannonade. And in and around the splendid temple "which had been the chief object of my admiration, armed men were barracked, surrounded by "their stacks of musketry and pieces of heavy "ordnance. These challenged me to render an "account of myself, and why I had had the temerity "to cross the water without a written permit from "a leader of their band.

"Though these men were generally more or less "under the influence of ardent spirits, after I had "explained myself as a passing stranger, they "seemed anxious to gain my good opinion. They "told the story of the dead city; that it had been "a notable manufacturing and commercial mart, "sheltering over 20,000 persons; that they had

" waged war with its inhabitants for several years, " and been finally successful only a few days before " my visit, in an action brought in front of the " ruined suburb, after which they had driven them " forth at the point of the sword. The defence, " they said, was obstinate, but gave way on the " third day's bombardment. They boasted greatly " of their prowess, especially in this battle as they " called it; but I discovered that they were not of " one mind as to certain of the exploits that had " distinguished it; one of which, as I remember, " was, that they had slain a father and his son, a " boy of fifteen, not long residents of the fated city, " whom they admitted had borne a character with- " out reproach.

" They also conducted me inside the massive " sculptured walls of the curious temple, in which " they said the banished inhabitants were accus- " tomed to celebrate the mystic rites of an unhal- " lowed worship. They particularly pointed out to " me certain features of the building, which having " been the peculiar objects of a former superstitious " regard, they had, as a matter of duty, sedulously " defiled and defaced. The reputed sites of certain " shrines they had thus particularly noticed; and " various sheltered chambers, in one of which was " a deep well, constructed, they believed, with a " dreadful design. Besides these, they led me to " see a large and deep chiseled marble vase or " basin, supported by twelve oxen, also of marble, " and of the size of life, of which they told some " romantic stories. They said the deluded persons, " most of whom were emigrants from a great dis-

"tance, believed their deity countenanced their reception here of a baptism of regeneration, as proxies for whomsoever they held in warm affection in the countries from which they had come. That here parents went into the water for their spouses, and young persons for their lovers. That thus the great vase came to be for them associated with all dear and distant memories, and was, therefore, the object of all others in the building to which they attached the greatest degree of idolatrous affection. On this account the victors had so diligently desecrated it, as to render the apartment in which it was contained too noisome to abide in.

"They permitted me also to ascend into the steeple to see where it had been lightning-struck on the Sabbath before, and to look out east and south, on wasted farms like those I had seen near the city, extending till they were lost in the distance. There, in the face of the pure day, close by the scar of divine wrath left by the thunderbolt, were fragments of food, cruises of liquor, and broken drinking vessels, with a brass drum and a steamboat signal-bell, of which I afterwards learned with pain.

"It was after nightfall when I was ready to cross the river on my return. The wind had freshened since the sunset, and the water beating roughly into my little boat, I hedged higher up the stream than the point I had left in the morning, and landed where a faint glimmering light invited me to steer.

"There, among the dock and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them

" and sky, I came upon a crowd of several hundred " human creatures, whom my movements roused " from uneasy slumber upon the ground.

" Passing these on my way to the light, I found " it came from a tallow candle in a paper funnel " shade, such as is used by street venders of apples " and peanuts, and which, flaming and guttering " away in the bleak air off the water, shone flicker-" ingly on the emaciated features of a man in the " last stage of a bilious remittent fever. They had " done their best for him. Over his head was some-" thing like a tent, made of a sheet or two, and he " rested on a partially ripped open old straw mat-" tress, with a hair sofa-cushion under his head for a " pillow. His gaping jaw and glaring eye told how " short a time he would monopolize these luxuries; " though a seemingly bewildered and excited per-" son, who might have been his wife, seemed to find " hope in occasionally forcing him to swallow awk-" wardly sips of the tepid river-water, from a burned " and battered, bitter-smelling tin coffee-pot. Those " who knew better had furnished the apothecary he " needed; a toothless old bald head, whose manner " had the repulsive dullness of a man familiar with " death scenes. He, so long as I remained, mum-" bled in his patient's ear a monotonous and melan-" choly prayer, between the pauses of which I heard " the hiccup and sobbing of two little girls who " were sitting upon a piece of driftwood outside.

" Dreadful, indeed, was the suffering of these for-" saken beings, bowed and cramped by cold and " sunburn, alternating as each weary day and night " dragged on. They were, almost all of them, the "crippled victims of disease. They were there "because they had no homes, nor hospital, nor "poor house, nor friends to offer them any. They "could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick; "they had not bread to quiet the fractious hunger-"cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daugh-"ters and grandparents, all of them alike, were "bivouacked in tatters, wanting even covering to "comfort those whom the sick shiver of fever was "searching to the marrow.

"These were Mormons in Lee County, Iowa, in "the fourth week of the month of September, in "the year of our Lord 1846. The city—it was "Nauvoo, Illinois. The Mormons were the owners "of that city, and the smiling country around. And "those who had stopped their plows, who had "silenced their hammers, their axes, their shuttles, "and their workshop wheels; those who had put "out their fires, who had eaten their food, spoiled "their orchards, and trampled under foot their thous-"ands of acres of unharvested bread—these were "the keepers of their dwellings, the carousers in "their temple, whose drunken riot insulted the ears "of the dying.

"I think it was as I turned from the wretched "night watch of which I have spoken, that I first "listened to the sounds of revel of a party of the "guard within the city. Above the distant hum of "the voices of many, occasionally rose distinct the "loud oath-tainted exclamation, and the falsely in-"tonated scrap of vulgar song; but lest this requiem "should go unheeded, every now and then, when "their boisterous orgies strove to attain a sort of

" ecstatic climax, a cruel spirit of insulting frolic
" carried some of them up into the high belfry of
" the Temple steeple, and there, with the wicked
" childishness of inebriates, they whooped, and
" shrieked, and beat the drum that I had seen, and
" rang, in charivaric unison, their loud-tongued
" steamboat bell.

" There were, all told, not more than six hundred
" and forty persons who were thus lying upon the
" river flats. But the Mormons in Nauvoo and its
" dependencies had been numbered the year before
" at over twenty thousand. Where were they?
" They had last been seen, carrying in mournful
" train their sick and wounded, halt and blind, to
" disappear behind the western horizon, pursuing
" the phantom of another home. Hardly anything
" else was known of them; and people asked with
" curiosity, what had been their fate—what their
" fortune."

## CHAPTER X.

### THE JOURNEY OF THE PIONEERS TO THE MOUNTAINS. THEIR FIRST SIGHT OF THE PROMISED LAND.

Return we now to the main body of the Saints, to see what their fate had been, and to pursue the journey with them to the mountains.

At the close of the day on which he left Mount Pisgah, Wilford Woodruff, describing the grand spectacle of the exodus, wrote in his journal thus: "I stopped my carriage on the top of a rolling "prairie, where I had a fine view. I could stand "and gaze to the east and west, north and south, "and behold the Saints pouring out and gathering "like clouds from the hills and dales, groves and "prairies, with the teams, wagons, flocks and herds, "by hundreds and thousands. It looked like the "moving of a nation!"

"The moving of a nation!" It is a graphic picture in a touch. It was now more than ever this, for the remnant from Nauvoo had been driven toward the west. The Saints also in Europe, as well as those in the Eastern States, were looking to their leader to found for them another Zion to which they might gather.

Brigham moved not as a captain at the head of a mere band of pioneers, but in every thing he well sustained the character of a Moses. He established his people on the route in organized "Stakes of Zion." They were journeying towards the mountains as a line of cities, and not as emigrant camps. Indeed, they were called "Traveling Stakes of Zion." It was a novel name—a novel idea—this of traveling cities, but peculiarly empire-founding, and very like Brigham Young, the founder of two hundred and fifty cities.

Out of an absolute destitution, and in spite of their expulsion, the Mormons had flourished and increased in the wilderness, so that at the end of the year 1846, winter quarters had grown into twenty-two wards, with a bishop over each.

As the Spring opened, they began to prepare for their journey to the mountains, which at that day was almost appalling to the imagination. They had still over a thousand miles to the valley of the Salt Lake, and so little was known of the country any more than its name implied—the Great American Desert—that the Mormons could not look forward to much of a land of promise to repay them for all the past. Yet sang their poet, Eliza R. Snow, who has ever on their great occasions fired them with her Hebraic inspiration:

"The time of winter now is o'er,
There's verdure on the plain;
We leave our shelt'ring roofs once more,
And to our tents again.

CHORUS:—O Camp of Israel, onward move,
O, Jacob, rise and sing;
Ye Saints the world's salvation prove,
All hail to Zion's King!"

The pioneer song (as it was called) was, like their journey, quite lengthy. But the pioneers sang it with a will. It told them of their past; told them in exultation, that they were leaving the "mobbing gentile race, who thirsted for their blood, "to rest in Jacob's hiding place," and it told of the future, in prophetic strains; for "Sister Eliza" is a rare prophet as well as a poet.

The word and will of the Lord concerning the Camp of Israel in its journeyings to the West, was published from head-quarters, on the 14th of January, 1846. As it is the first *written* revelation ever sent out to the Church by President Young, the following passage from it will be read with interest:

"Let all the people of the Church of Jesus Christ "of Latter-day Saints, and those who journey with "them, be organized into companies, with a cove-"nant and promise to keep all the commandments "and statutes of the Lord our God. Let the com-"panies be organized with captains of hundreds, and "captains of fifties, and captains of tens, with a "president and councilor at their head, under the "direction of the Twelve Apostles; and this shall "be our covenant, that we will walk in all the ordi-"nances of the Lord.

"Let each company provide itself with all the "teams, wagons, provisions and all other necessaries "for the journey that they can. When the com-"panies are organized, let them go to with all their "might, to prepare for those who are to tarry. Let "each company, with their captains and presidents, "decide how many can go next spring; then choose "out a sufficient number of able-bodied and expert "men to take teams, seed, and farming utensils to "go as pioneers to prepare for putting in the Spring

" crops. Let each company bear an equal propor-
" tion, according to the dividend of their property,
" in taking the poor, the widows, and the fatherless,
" and the families of those who have gone with the
" army, that the cries of the widow and the father-
" less come not up into the ears of the Lord against
" his people.

" Let each company prepare houses, and fields for
" raising corn for those who are to remain behind
" this season; and this is the will of the Lord con-
" cerning this people.

" Let every man use all his influence and property
" to remove this people to the place where the Lord
" shall locate a Stake of Zion; and if ye do this
" with a pure heart, with all faithfulness, ye shall be
" blessed in your flocks, and in your herds, and in
" your fields, and in your houses, and in your
" families. * * *

" Seek ye, and keep all your pledges one with
" another, and covet not that which is thy brother's.
" Keep yourselves from evil; take not the name of
" the Lord God in vain, for I am the Lord your
" God, even the God of your fathers—the God of
" Abraham, Isaac and of Jacob. I am he who led
" the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt,
" and my arm is stretched out in the last days to
" save my people Israel. * * *

" Have I not delivered you from enemies only in
" that I have left the witness of my name? Now,
" therefore, hearken, oh ye people of my church,
" and ye elders listen together. You have received
" my kingdom; be diligent in keeping all my com-
" mandments, lest judgment come upon you, and

"your faith fail you, and your enemies triumph
"over you. Amen, and Amen."

On the 7th of April, 1846, the day after the general conference, the pioneers started from winter quarters.

As soon as they got fairly on the journey, they were organized as a military body, into companies of hundreds, fifties and tens. The following order of the officers will illustrate:

Brigham Young, lieut.-general; Stephen Markham, colonel; John Pack, 1st major; Shadrach Roundy, 2d major; captains of hundreds, Stephen Markham and A. P. Rockwood.

Captain of Company 1, Wilford Woodruff; Company 2, Ezra T. Benson; Company 3, Phineas H. Young; Company 4, Luke Johnson; Company 5, Stephen H. Goddard; Company 6, Charles Shumway; Company 7, James Case; Company 8, Seth Taft; Company 9, Howard Egan; Company 10, Appleton M. Harmon; Company 11, John Higbie; Company 12, Norton Jacobs; Company 13, John Brown; Company 14, Joseph Mathews.

The camp consisted of 73 wagons, 143 men, 3 women and two children—148 souls.

Nothing could better illustrate the perfection of Mormon organization than this example of the pioneers, for they were apostles and picked elders of minute companies, and under strict discipline.

"Lieut.-General Young" issued general orders to the regiment. The men were ordered to travel in a compact body, being in an Indian country; every man to carry his gun loaded, the locks to be shut on a piece of buckskin, with caps ready in case of attack; flint locks, with cotton and powder flask handy, and every man to walk by the side of his wagon, under orders not to leave it, unless sent by the officer in command, and the wagons to be formed two abreast, where practicable, on the march. At the call of the bugle in the morning, at five o'clock, the pioneers were to arise, assemble for prayers, get breakfast, and be ready to start at the second call of the bugle at seven. At night, at half-past eight, at the command from the bugle, each was to retire for prayer in his own wagon, and to bed at nine o'clock. Tents were to be pitched on Saturday nights and the Sabbath kept.

A God-fearing people, without hypocrisy or cant, the Mormons have been, in every scene and every day of their eventful career. Cromwell's famous order, "Trust in God, but keep your powder dry," was never better exemplified than by these pioneers. Indeed, none ever so well understood this maxim as did these Mormon elders.

The course of the pioneers was up the north bank of the Platte, along which they traveled slowly. They crossed Elk Horn on a raft, forded the Loup Fork with considerable danger in consequence of the quicksands, and reached Grand Island about the 1st of May.

This was the day on which the pioneers had their first buffalo hunt. There was much exciting interest in the scene, for scarcely one of the hunters had chased a buffalo before. They killed four cows, three bulls, and five calves.

While on a hunt, several days after, the hunters were called in, a party of 400 Indian warriors near by having showed signs of an attack. The Indians had previously been threatening, and were setting fire to the prairie on the north side of the Platte. The pioneers fired their cannon twice to warn the Indians that they were on the watch.

A council was now held to consider whether or not it were wise to cross the river and strike the old road to Laramie, there being good grass on that side, while the Indians were burning it on the north. In view, however, of the thousands who would follow in their track, it was concluded to continue as before, braving the Indians and the burning prairies; for, said the pioneers :

" A new road will thus be made, which shall stand " as a permanent route for the Saints, independent " of the old route, and the river will separate the " Mormon companies from other emigrants, so that " they need not quarrel for wood, grass or water, " and fresh grass will soon grow for our companies " to follow us this season."

Thus the pioneers broke a new road across the plains, over which tens of thousands of their people have since traveled, and which was famous as the "old Mormon road," till the railway came to blot almost from memory the toils and dangers of a journey of more than a thousand miles, by ox teams, to the valleys of Utah. (It is a curious fact that for several hundred miles the grade of the great trans-continental railway is made exactly upon the old Mormon road).

The pioneers were wary. Colonel Markham drilled his men in good military style, and the cannon was put on wheels.

William Clayton, formerly the scribe of the Prophet, and, in the pioneer journey, scribe to President Young, and Willard Richards, the Church historian, invented a machine to measure the distance.

General Young himself marked the entire route, going in advance daily with his staff. This service was deemed most important, as their emigrations would follow almost in the very footprints of the pioneers.

Those were days for the buffalo hunt, scarcely to be imagined, when crossing the plains a quarter of a century later. Some days they saw as many as fifty thousand buffalo.

They came to the hunting ground of the Sioux, where, a few days before, five hundred lodges had stood. Nearly a thousand warriors had encamped there. They had been on a hunting expedition. Acres of ground were covered with buffalo wool and other remains of the slaughter. No wonder the Indian of the plains bemoans his hunting grounds, now lost to him forever.

Several days later there were again fears of an Indian attack, and the cannon was got ready.

The pioneers were within view of Chimney Rock on Sunday, the 23d of May. Here they held their usual Sabbath service. Erastus Snow preached, followed by President Young. The President said he had never seen a people more united than this camp had been, and promised them that they should pluck the fruit of this mission to all eternity. He had many things to teach them, but could do it only in a stake of Zion; he was well satisfied with himself, his brethren of the Twelve, and with the pioneers generally; he knew the Lord was with them, and that He was leading them; to the praise of all, he would say, that not a man of them would refuse to obey his counsel. His peace with God was continually like a river, and he felt that the spirit of peace rested upon the whole camp.

On the first of June they were opposite Laramie. Here they were joined by a small company of Mormons from Mississippi, who had been at Pueblo during the Winter. They reported news of a detachment of the battalion at Pueblo that expected to start for Laramie about the first of June, and follow the pioneer track. This addition to the camp consisted of a brother Crow and his family (14 souls, with seven wagons).

The next day President Young and others visited Fort Laramie, then occupied by 38 persons, mostly French, who had married the Sioux.

Mr. Burdow, the principal man at the Fort, was a Frenchman. He cordially received President Young and his staff, invited them into his sitting-room, gave them information of the route, and furnished them with a flat-bottom boat on reasonable terms, to assist them in ferrying the Platte. Ex-Governor Boggs, who had recently passed with his company, had said much against the Mormons, cautioning Mr. Burdow to take care of his horses and cattle. Boggs and his company were quarreling, many having deserted him; so Burdow told that old anti-Mormon that, let the Mormons be what they might, they could not be worse than himself and his men.

It is not a little singular that this exterminating Governor of Missouri should have been crossing the Plains at the same time with the pioneers. They were going to carve out for their people a greater destiny than they could have reached either in Missouri or Illinois—he to pass away, leaving nothing but the infamy of his name.

It was decided to send Amasa Lyman, with several other brethren, to Pueblo, to meet the detachment of the battalion, and hurry them on to Laramie to follow the track.

At the old Fort they set up blacksmith shops, and did some necessary work for the camp. Then commenced the ascent of the Black Hills, on the 4th of June.

Fifteen miles from Laramie, at the Springs, a company of Missouri emigrants came up. The pioneers kept the Sabbath the next day; the Missourians journeyed. Another company of Missourians appeared.

A party of traders, direct from Santa Fe, overtook the pioneers, and gave information of the detachment of the battalion, at Santa Fe, under Capt. Brown.

The two Missouri companies kept up a warfare between themselves on the route. They were a suggestive example to the Mormons. After they had traveled near each other for a week, on the Sunday following the President made this the subject of his discourse. He said of the two Missourian companies:

" They curse, swear, rip and tear, and are trying
" to swallow up the earth; but though they do not
" wish us to have a place on it, the earth might as
" well open and swallow them up; for they will go

"to the land of forgetfulness, while the Saints, "though they suffer some privations here, if faith- "ful, will ultimately inherit the earth, and increase "in power, dominion and glory."

General Young called together the officers, to consult on a plan for crossing the river. He directed them to go immediately to the mountains with teams, to get poles. They were then to lash from two to four wagons abreast, to keep them from turning over, and float them across the river with boats and ropes; so a company of horsemen started to the mountains with teams.

The "brethren" had previously ferried over the Missourians, who paid them $1.50 for each wagon and load, and paid it in flour at $2.50; yet flour was worth ten dollars per cwt, at least, at that point. They divided their earnings among the camp equally. It amounted to five and a half pounds of flour each, two pounds of meal, and a small piece of bacon.

"It looked," says Wilford Woodruff, "as much of "a miracle to me to see our flour and meal bags "replenished in the Black Hills as it did to have "the Children of Israel fed with manna in the wil- "derness. But the Lord had been truly with us on "our journey, and, had wonderfully preserved and "blessed us."

These little stores of flour were supposed to have saved the life of some of the pioneers, for they were by this time entirely destitute of the "staff of "life."

The pioneers were seven days crossing the river at this point. While here they established a ferry, and selected nine men to leave in charge of it, with instructions to divide the means accumulated equally, to be careful of the lives and property of those they ferried, to "forget not their prayers," and "to come on with the next company of "Saints."

They reached Independence Rock on the 21st of June, and the South Pass on the 26th.

Several days later they met Major Harris, who had traveled through Oregon and California for twenty-five years. He spoke unfavorably of the Salt Lake country for a settlement.

Next day Col. Bridger came up. He desired to go into council with the Mormon leaders. The apostles held the council with the colonel. He spoke more favorably of the great basin; but thought it not prudent to continue emigration there until they ascertained whether grain would grow there or not. He said he would give a thousand dollars for the first bushel of wheat raised in the valley of the Salt Lake.

At Green River they were met by Elder Samuel Brannan from the Bay of San Francisco. He came to give an account of the Mormon company that sailed with him in the ship *Brooklyn*. They had established themselves two hundred miles up the river, were building up a city, and he had already started a newspaper.

They were several days fording Green River. Here the pioneers kept the 4th of July.

The Mormon battalion now began to reinforce the pioneers. Thirteen of these soldiers, returning from the service of their country, joined them at Green River, and reported that a whole detachment of 140 were within seven days' drive.

As the pioneers approached the valley of the Great Salt Lake, the interest became intense. The gold-finders of California, and the founders of the Pacific States and Territories generally, had but a fever for precious metals, or were impelled westward by the migrating spirit of the American people; but these Mormon pioneers were seeking the "Pearl of Great Price," and their thoughts and emotions, as they drew near the Salt Lake Valley were akin to those of the Pilgrim Fathers as they came in sight of Plymouth Rock.

During the last days of the journey, President Young was laid up with the "mountain fever," from which he did not fully recover till on the return trip to winter quarters.

After passing Bear River, a council of the whole was called, and it was resolved that Apostle Orson Pratt should take a company of about twenty wagons, with forty men, to go forward and make a road. Twenty-three wagons started the next morning.

A few simple but graphic passages from the diary of Apostle Woodruff, will illustrate the entrance of the pioneers into the valleys of Utah, better than an author's imagination.

"July 20th.—We started early this morning, and "stopped for breakfast after a five miles' drive. I "carried Brother Brigham in my carriage. The "fever was still on him, but he stood the ride well. "After breakfast we traveled over ten miles of the "worst road of the whole journey.

"21st.—We are compelled to lay over in consequence of the sick.

"22d.—Continued our journey.

"23d.—We left East Canyon; reached the sum-"mit of the mountain, and descended six miles "through a thick-timbered grove. We nooned at a "beautiful spring in a small birch grove. Here we "were met by Brothers Pack and Mathews from the "advance camps. They brought us a dispatch. "The brethren had explored the Great Salt Lake "Valley, as far as possible, and made choice of a "spot to put in crops.

"July 24th.—This is one of the most important "days of my life, and in the history of the Church "of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

"After traveling six miles through a deep ravine "ending with the canyon, we came in full view of "the valley of the Great Salt Lake; the land of "promise, held in reserve by God, as a resting place "for his Saints.

"We gazed in wonder and admiration upon the "vast valley before us, with the waters of the Great "Salt Lake glistening in the sun, mountains tower-"ing to the skies, and streams of pure water running "through the beautiful valley. It was the grandest "view that we had ever seen till this moment. "Pleasant thoughts ran through our minds at the "prospect that, not many years hence, the house "of God would be established in the mountains and "exalted above the hills; while the valleys would "be converted into orchards, vineyards, and fruitful "fields, cities erected to the name of the Lord, and "the standard of Zion unfurled for the gathering of "the nations.

"President Young expressed his entire satisfaction

" at the appearance of the valley, as a resting place " for the Saints, and felt amply repaid for his journey. While lying upon his bed, in my carriage, " gazing upon the scene before us, many things of " the future concerning the valley were shown to " him in vision.

" After gazing awile upon this scenery, we moved " four miles across the table land into the valley, to " the encampment of our brethren who had arrived " two days before us. They had pitched upon the " banks of two small streams of pure water and had " commenced ploughing. On our arrival they had " already broken five acres of land, and had begun " planting potatoes in the valley of the Great Salt " Lake.

" As soon as our encampment was formed, before " taking my dinner, having half a bushel of potatoes, " I went to the ploughed field and planted them, " hoping, with the blessing of God, to save at least " the seed for another year.

" The brethren had dammed up one of the creeks " and dug a trench, and by night nearly the whole " ground, which was found very dry, was irrigated.

" Towards evening, Brothers Kimball, Smith, " Benson and myself rode several miles up the " creek (City Creek) into the mountain, to look for " timber and see the country.

" There was a thunder shower, and it rained over " nearly the whole valley; it also rained a little in " the fore-part of the night. We felt thankful for " this, as it was the generally conceived opinion that " it did not rain in the valley during the summer " season."

How well this arrival of the pioneers into their "Land of Promise," illustrates the character of the Mormon people. Empire founding on the first day; planting their fields before rest or dinner. Rain on the day of Brigham's arrival, a miracle of promise! Already had his vision begun to be fulfilled!

# CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST SABBATH IN THE VALLEY. THE PIONEERS APPLY THE PROPHECIES TO THEMSELVES AND THEIR LOCATION. ZION HAS GONE UP INTO THE MOUNTAINS. THEY LOCATE THE TEMPLE AND LAY OFF THE "CITY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE." THE LEADERS RETURN TO WINTER QUARTERS TO GATHER THE BODY OF THE CHURCH. THEIR SECOND ARRIVAL IN THE VALLEY. BRIGHAM DECLARED THE LEADER OF ISRAEL.

How characteristically the Mormons commenced their history in Utah as a God-fearing people!

The arrival of Brigham Young in the valley of the Salt Lake was on a Saturday. The next day to the pioneers was a Sabbath indeed.

"We shaved and cleaned up" (says Apostle Woodruff, in his graphic story of the pioneers), "and met in the circle of the encampment."

In the afternoon the whole "Congregation of Israel" partook of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Then the valleys rang with the exultant themes of the Hebrew prophets, and the "Everlasting Hills" reverberated the hosannas of the Saints.

Orson Pratt was the preacher of the great subject, which, to the ardent faith of those pioneers, never lived in fulfillment till that moment. The sublime flights of the matchless Isaiah gave the principal theme.

"O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up "into the high mountains!"

But Isaiah is not alone in the culminating inspiration. There is such a grand unity among the Hebrew prophets, when touching this subject of a Latter-day Zion, that, undoubtedly, it was the burden of the divine epic to which the Hebraic genius soared. Notwithstanding the mental diversity of these poet-prophets, in this crowning theme, they give us, not poetic fragments, but a glorious continued composition, as from a manifold genius.

"Thy watchmen shall lift up their voice; with "the voice together shall they sing; and they shall "see eye to eye when the Lord shall bring again "Zion."

This was fulfilled to those Anglo-American pioneers that day. They were the watchmen! With the voice together they sang the theme, and did literally shout their hosannas; for the "Hosanna" is a part of their Temple service. They saw eye to eye. The Lord had brought again Zion!

Nor were these Mormon apostles figurative in their applications; they rendered most literally to themselves every point. Orson Pratt declared, with an apostle's assurance, that their location, in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains, was in the view of the ancient seers. That which was before seemingly contradictory in the extreme, relative to the Latter-day Zion, especially its location and the rapid transformation of its founding, was now made plain and most literal. Apostle Pratt reconciled it all. The pioneers saw the vision of Zion harmonized on that first Sabbath in the valley, as they might have seen their own faces in a mirror.

God would "hide his people in the chambers of "the mountains!" Yet, in these "last days," he would "establish his house on the tops of the "mountains, and exalt it above the hills!"

And here were these pioneers of Mormon Israel in a valley nearly thirty miles in diameter, circled by a chain of mountains; here, in a valley nearly five thousand feet above the level of the sea—"exalted above the hills"—yet belted by mountains with their everlasting caps of snow. It was indeed as the "chambers of the Lord," and the name which it popularly bore—the "Great Basin"—was nearly as striking to the imagination as its prophetic name.

Latter-day Zion, too, was to be a place "sought "out"—a place "not forsaken." They had sought it out by an exodus, and an unparalleled journey of a people, nearly fifteen hundred miles, over unbroken prairies, sandy deserts and rocky mountains; and they were about to found their Zion in a primeval valley, where no city, since the creation, had ever stood—a place "not forsaken" by civilized people of the ages long since dead. The "solitary "places" were to be "made glad," the "wilderness" was to "blossom as the rose," and the "desert" suddenly to be converted into the "fruitful field." The pioneers had chosen for the location of their Zion and her temples, the "Great American Desert," and they were about to make real the strange and highly colored picture. So much like the change in an enchanted scene has been the transformation which has since come over those desert valleys and canyons of the Rocky Mountains, that, for the last quarter of a century, the Mormons have been popularly described in nearly every nation of the earth as that peculiar people who have made the "desert "to blossom as the rose." Look upon the valley of the Salt Lake to-day as Spring opens, when the gardens and orchards are in one universal rose-blossom, and there never was a prophetic picture more literally realized.

But the prophecy most emphasized by these Mormon apostles, and one, too, which they have expected will be fulfilled most exactly, is by the Prophet Micheas. (The Catholic version best describes the Mormon expectation.)

"And it shall come to pass in the last days, that "the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be "prepared in the top of the mountains, and high "above the hills; and the people shall flow to it.

"And many nations shall come in haste, and say, "come, let us go up to the mountains of the Lord, "and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he "will teach us of his ways; and we will walk in his "paths; for the law shall go forth out of Zion, and "the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem.

"And he shall judge among many people, and "rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat "their swords into plough shares, and their spears "into spades; nation shall not take sword against "nation; neither shall they learn war any more.

"And every man shall sit under his vine, and "under his fig tree; and there shall be none to "make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of "Hosts hath spoken."

This remarkable prophecy thousands have expected to be fulfilled during the lifetime of Brigham Young. He is to be the "Mouth-piece" through which "The Lord shall rebuke strong nations afar "off."

Though feeble with that most languishing of diseases, the mountain fever, and scarcely able to stand upon his feet, Brigham was still the law-giver on that first Sabbath. If he had not the strength to preach a great sermon on the Latter-day Zion, like that of the Mormon Paul—Orson Pratt—he was "every inch" the Moses of the last days.

"He told the brethren," says the historian Woodruff, "that they must not work on Sunday; that "they would lose five times as much as they would "gain by it. None were to hunt or fish on that "day; and there should not any man dwell among "us who would not observe these rules. They "might go and dwell where they pleased, but "should not dwell with us. He also said, no man "should buy any land who came here; that he had "none to sell; but every man should have his land "measured out to him for city and farming pur-"poses. He might till it as he pleased, but he must "be industrious, and take care of it."

"On Monday ten men were chosen for an explor-"ing expedition. I took President Young into my "carriage, and, traveling two miles towards the "mountain, made choice of a spot for our garden.

"We then returned to camp, and went north

" about five miles, and we all went on to the top of a
" high peak, on the edge of the mountain, which we
" considered a good place to raise an ensign. So
" we named it 'Ensign Peak.'

" I was the first person who ascended this hill,
" which we had thus named. Brother Young was
" very weary, in climbing to the peak, from his re-
" cent fever.

" We descended to the valley, and started north
" to the Hot Sulphur Springs, but we returned two
" miles to get a drink of cold water, and then went
" back four miles to the Springs. We returned to
" the camp quite weary with our day's explorations.
" Brothers Mathews and Brown had crossed the
" valley in the narrowest part, opposite the camp, to
" the west mountain, and found it about fifteen
" miles.

" Next day Amasa Lyman came into camp, and
" informed us that Capt. Brown's detachment of the
" Mormon battalion would be with us in about two
" days.

" We again started on our exploring expedition.
" All the members of the quorum of the Twelve
" belonging to the pioneers, eight in number, were
" of the company. Six others of the brethren, in-
" cluding Brannan of San Francisco, were with us.

" We started for the purpose of visiting the great
" Salt Lake, and mountains on the west of the valley.
" We traveled two miles west from Temple Block,
" and came to the outlet of the Utah Lake; thence
" fourteen miles to the west mountain, and found
" that the land was not so fertile as on the east
" side.

"We took our dinner at the fresh water pool, and then rode six miles to a large rock, on the shore of the Salt Lake, which we named Black Rock, where we all halted and bathed in the salt water. No person could sink in it, but would roll and float on the surface like a dry log. We concluded that the Salt Lake was one of the wonders of the world.

"After spending an hour here, we went west along the lake shore, and then returned ten miles to our place of nooning, making forty miles that day.

"In the morning we arose refreshed by sleep in the open air. Having lost my carriage whip the night before, I started on horseback to go after it. As I approached the spot where it was dropped, I saw about twenty Indians. At first they looked to me in the distance like a lot of bears coming towards me. As I was unarmed I wheeled my horse and started back on a slow trot.

"But they called to me, and one, mounting his horse, came after me with all speed. When he got within twenty rods I stopped and met him. The rest followed. They were Utes, and wanted to trade. I told them by signs that our camp was near, so he went on with me to the camp. From what we had yet seen of the Utes they appeared friendly, though they had a bad name from the mountaineers. The Indian wanted to smoke the pipe of peace with us, but we soon started on and he waited for his company.

"We traveled ten miles south under the moun-

"tain. The land laid beautifully, but there was no "water, and the soil was not so good as on the east. "We saw about a hundred goats, sheep and ante- "lope playing about the hills and valleys. We re- "turned, weary, to the pioneer encampment, making "thirty miles for the day.

"After our return to the camp, President Young "called a council of the quorum of the Twelve. "There were present: Brigham Young, Herbert "Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, Wilford "Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman and "Ezra T. Benson.

"We walked from the north camp to about the "centre between the two creeks, when President "Young waved his hand and said: 'Here is the "'forty acres for the temple. The city can be laid "'out perfectly square, north and south, east and "'west.' It was then moved and carried that the "temple lot contain forty acres on the ground where "we stood. It was also moved and carried that the "city be laid out into lots of ten rods by twenty "each, exclusive of the streets, and into blocks of "eight lots, being ten acres in each block, and one "and a quarter in each lot.

"It was further moved and carried that each "street be laid out eight rods wide, and that there "be a side-walk on each side, twenty feet wide, and "that each house be built in the centre of the lot "twenty feet from the front, that there might be "uniformity throughout the city.

"It was also moved that there be four public "squares of ten acres each, to be laid out in various "parts of the city for public grounds.

"At eight o'clock the whole camp came together " on the temple ground and passed the votes unani- " mously, and, when the business part of the meet- " ing was closed, President Young arose and ad- " dressed the assembly upon a variety of subjects.

"In his remarks the President said that he was " determined to have all things in order, and right- " eousness should be practiced in the land. We had " come here according to the direction and counsel " of Brother Joseph, before his death; and, said the " President, Joseph would still have been alive if " the Twelve had been in Nauvoo when he re- " crossed the river from Montrose.

"During his remarks, President Young observed " that he intended to have every hole and corner " from the Bay of San Francisco to Hudson Bay " known to us.

"On the 29th, President Young, with a number " of brethren, mounted and started to meet the " battalion detachment, under the command of Cap- " tain Brown.

"We met some of them about four miles from " camp, and soon afterwards met Captains Brown " and Higgins, Lieutenant Willis, and the company. " There were 1,400 of the battalion, and a company " of about 100 of the Mississippi Saints, who came " with them from Pueblo. They had with them 60 " wagons, 100 horses and mules, and 300 head of " cattle, which greatly added to our strength.

"While we were in the canyon, a water cloud " burst, which sent the water into the creeks from " the mountains, with a rush and roar like thunder, " resembling the opening of a flood gate. The

" shower spread over a good share of the valley " where we settled.

" We returned at the head of the companies, and " marched into camp with music. The battalion " took up their quarters between our two camps on " the bank of the creek.

" While we had been exploring the rest of the " pioneers had been farming.

" By the 1st of August (Sunday) the brethren " constructed the Bowery on Temple block, in which " Heber C. Kimball was the first to preach. Orson " Pratt followed in a discourse upon the prophecies " of Isaiah, proving that the location of Zion in the " mountains by our people was the fulfillment.

" On Monday we commenced laying out the city, " beginning with the Temple block. In forming " this block, 40 acres appeared so large, that a " council was held to determine whether or not it " would be wisdom to reduce it one-half. Not being " decided in our views, we held council again, " two days later, when we gave as our matured " opinions that we could not do justice to 40 acres; " that 10 acres would be sufficient.

" As we were under the necessity of returning " soon to winter quarters for the Saints, it was " thought best to go at once to the mountains for " logs to build ourselves cabins, as the adobe houses " might not be ready for our use.

" On the 6th of August, the Twelve were re-bap- " tized. This we considered a privilege and a duty. " As we had come into a glorious valley to locate " and build up Zion, we felt like renewing our cove- " nants before the Lord and each other. We soon

" repaired to the water, and President Young went " down into the water and baptized all his brethren " of the Twelve present. He then confirmed us, " and sealed upon us our apostleship, and all the " keys, powers and blessings belonging to that " office. Brother Heber C. Kimball baptized and " confirmed President Brigham Young. The follow" ing were the names and order of those present: " Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, " Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. " Smith, and Amasa Lyman. Ezra T. Benson had " been dispatched several days before to meet the " companies on the road.

" In the afternoon of the next day, the Twelve " went to the Temple block to select their inherit" ances.

" President Young took a block east of the " Temple, and running south-east, to settle his " friends around him; Heber C. Kimball, a block " north of the Temple; Orson Pratt, south and " running south; Wilford Woodruff, a block corner" ing Temple block, the south-west corner joining " Orson Pratt's; Amasa Lyman took a block forty " rods below Wilford Woodruff's; George A. Smith, " one joining the Temple on the west, and running " due west. It was supposed that Willard Richards " would take his on the east, near President Young's. " None others of the Twelve were present in camp.

" During the same evening the Twelve went to " City Creek, and Heber C. Kimball baptized fifty" five members of the camp, for the remission of " their sins; and they were confirmed under the " hands of President Young, Orson Pratt, Wilford

" Woodruff, George A. Smith, and Amasa Lyman;
" President Young being mouth.

" On the next day (Sunday, August 8th), the
" whole camp of Israel renewed their covenants
" before the Lord by baptism. There were two
" hundred and twenty-four baptized this morning,
" making two hundred and eighty-eight re-baptized
" in the last three days.

" In the afternoon we partook of the Sacrament.
" At the close of the meeting one hundred and ten
" men were called for, to go into the adobe yard,
" and seventy-six volunteered.

" Brother Crow had a child drowned on the 11th.

" On the 13th the Twelve held council. Each
" one was to make choice of the blocks that they
" were to settle their friends upon. President Young
" took the tiers of blocks south through the city;
" Brother Kimball's runs north and north-west;
" Orson Pratt, four blocks; Wilford Woodruff, eight
" blocks; George A. Smith, eight; and Amasa
" Lyman, twelve blocks, according to the companies
" organized with each.

" Next day four of the messengers returned from
" Bear River and Cache Valley.

" They brought a cheering report of Cache Valley.
" The brethren also returned who went to Utah
" Lake for fish. They found a mountain of granite.

" The quorum of the Twelve decided in council
" that the name of the city should be the 'City of
" 'the Great Salt Lake.'

" Sunday, August 15th, President Young preached
" on the death of Brother Crow's child; a most in-
" teresting discourse, full of principle.

"Sunday, the 22d, we held a general conference, "when the public assembly resolved to call the city "'The City of the Great Salt Lake.'

"It was also voted to fence the city for farming "purposes the coming year, and to appoint a President and High Council, and all other officers "necessary in this Stake of Zion, and that the "Twelve write an epistle to leave with the Saints in "the valley. The conference then adjourned until "the 6th of October, A. D. 1848.

"On the morning of the 26th of August, 1847, "the pioneers, with most of the returning members "of the Mormon battalion, harnessed their horses "and bade farewell to the brethren who were to "tarry. The soldiers were very anxious to meet "their wives again, whom they had left by the wayside, without a moment's notice, for their service "in the war with Mexico. These being, too, the "'Young Men of Israel,' had left many newly wedded "brides; and not a few of those gallant fellows were "fathers of first-born babes whom they had not yet "seen.

"The brethren in the valley were placed under "the presidency of the Chief Patriarch of the "Church—Father John Smith, uncle of the Prophet. The members of the quorum of the Twelve "Apostles Brigham took with him; but he left reliable men, among whom was Albert Carrington, "at the present date an apostle.

"There were a number of companies also on the "road, under principal men and chief 'Captains of "Israel,' such as apostles Parley P. Pratt and John "Taylor, Bishop Hunter, Daniel Spencer, and

" Jedediah M. Grant, who was afterwards one of the " first presidents of the Church.

" On the fourth day of their return journey, the " pioneers were met by their messengers, under " Ezra T. Benson, whom President Young had sent " forward with instructions to the outcoming com- ' panies. These messengers gladdened the hearts " of the pioneers, with letters from their wives and " brethren, and reported the coming 'Camp of " Israel' as divided into nine companies, numbering " 600 wagons.

" On the 3d of September, they met the first divi- " sion of fifty, under President Daniel Spencer, upon " the Big Sandy; and, on the following day, on the " Little Sandy, two more fifties, one under the com- " mand of Captain Sessions and the other under " Apostle Parley P. Pratt.

" In the afternoon, the quorum of the Twelve " held a council, and two of the Twelve were sharply " rebuked, for undoing what the majority of the " quorum had done in the organization of the camps " for traveling. At first it was not received, but " afterwards the error was confessed. President " Young gave much instruction, and the power of " God rested upon us. He said, if he did not tell " us of our faults, we should be destroyed, but if we " received necessary reproof, we should live in love, " and our hearts would be cemented together.

" President Young said he felt eternity rest- " ing upon him, and was weighed down to the " earth with this work; and that Brother Kimball " felt it also more than any other man except him- " self. He should chastise any one of the quorum

" when out of the way. He had done it for our " good, and had been constrained to it by the power " of God.

" Brother Kimball then addressed President " Young :

" ' I want you Brother Brigham,' he said, ' to save " ' yourself, for you are wearing down. I feel tender " ' towards you to live, and if I and my brethren do " ' wrong, tell us of it, and we will repent.'

" They continued daily to meet the companies, " Apostle Taylor bringing up his hundred on the " Sweet Water. In this company was Edward " Hunter, the present presiding Bishop of the whole " Church. These brethren prepared a great feast " in the wilderness. They made it a sort of a surprise party, the pioneers being unexpectedly introduced to the richly-laden table. The feast consisted of roast and boiled beef, pies, cakes, biscuit, " butter, peach sauce, coffee, tea, sugar, and a great " variety of good things. In the evening the camp " had a dance, but the Twelve met in council to adjust important business.

" Next day they met Jedediah M. Grant, with his " hundred. He was direct from Philadelphia. He " informed them that Senator Thomas Benton, the " inveterate enemy of the Mormons, was doing all " he could against them.

" Early the next morning the alarm was given " that their horses were stolen. Bells were found " cut from the horses, the lariats cut, an arrow was " picked up, and other Indian signs discovered. " The trail was finally struck, and a company of " twenty horsemen started after the Indians.

"It looked gloomy to see so many women and "children there in the mountains with their horses "and cattle stolen, and breaking down so late in the "season.

"During the evening two of the brethren who "had been in the pursuit returned, bringing back "five of the horses.

"Next morning we parted from our friends, who "were going west, and those of us who had not "lost horses divided with those who had. As we "journeyed on we met the remainder of our brethren "returning from the pursuit, but they had not "recovered any more of our horses; the Indians "had escaped with forty-three of them.

"Two weeks later we had another immensely exciting "Indian fray. About nine in the morning "the call was made to get our horses, when suddenly "reports of firearms were heard, in quick "succession, with cries from the guard of, 'Indians! "'Indians!'

"In less than a minute the timber and bluffs were "lined with mounted Indians, charging with all "speed upon the guard houses and camp. They "numbered quite two hundred warriors.

"The brethren returned the fire, broke the Indian "charge, and gave chase, seeing which, the old "chief shouted to his band and proclaimed peace "to the pioneers, telling the latter that they were "good Sioux and that they had taken them for "Crows or Snakes. He proposed the smoking of "the pipe of peace between the Mormons and his "warriors, and wanted the big chief of his Mormon "brothers to go to his camp.

"This the brethren would not permit; but Heber "C. Kimball, Colonel Markham and Apostle Woodruff went in the President's stead, for the pioneers were desirous to cultivate the friendship of the "Indians for the sake of their emigrations across "the plains. They obtained from the Indians some "of their stolen horses.

"At Fort Laramie President Young, Kimball and "others of the apostles dined with Commodore "Stockton, from the Bay of San Francisco, with "forty of his men, eastward bound.

"On the 19th of October, the pioneers were met "by a troop of mounted police from winter "quarters, under their captain, Hosea Stout, who "had come to meet them, thinking they might need "help."

As they drew near winter quarters, the sisters, mothers and wives came out to meet the brave men who had found for them a second Zion. They also sent teams laden with the richest produce of winter quarters and the delicacies of the household table, which loving hands had prepared.

When within about a mile of winter quarters a halt was called; the company was drawn up in order and addressed by President Young, who then dismissed the pioneer camp with his blessing.

They drove into the city in order. The streets were lined with people to shake hands with them as they passed. Each of the pioneers drove to his own home. This was October 31st.

The pioneers on their return found the Saints at winter quarters well and prosperous. They, like their leaders, had been greatly blessed. The earth, under their thorough habits of cultivation and industry, had brought forth abundantly.

During the month of November much important business came before the Twelve; and, on the last of the month, the subject of reorganizing the first Presidency, which had been vacant since the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, was considered.

On the 3d of December a conference was held on the east side of the river; but, after having resolved to build immediately a large tabernacle for the congregation, it adjourned for three weeks.

There was a feast and a grand council, Dec. 5th, at the house of Elder Hyde, who had been in charge at winter quarters during the absence of the pioneers.

In this council of the Twelve Apostles, their President first expressed his views concerning the reorganization of the quorum of the first Presidency, and wished those present to do the same in their order, when Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, Willard Richards, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman and Ezra T. Benson spoke to the question. President Young closed.

Orson Hyde then moved that Brigham Young be President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and that he nominate his two councilors to form the first Presidency. Wilford Woodruff seconded the motion, and it was then carried unanimously.

President Young then nominated Heber C. Kimball as his first councilor, and Willard Richards as his second councilor, which was seconded and carried unanimously.

The Twelve again met the next day, and appointed Father John Smith presiding patriarch of the whole Church.

The conference reassembled on the 24th of December, and lasted four days. In the "Log Tabernacle" one thousand persons assembled, and chose Brigham Young "President of the Church of Jesus Christ in all the world." This was reconfirmed at the October general conference the following year, in Salt Lake City.

During the first three months of the year 1848, the Saints at winter quarters were busy preparing for the general migration of the Church to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake; but they also petitioned the Legislature of Iowa for the organization of a county in the Pottowatomie tract of land, and for a post office.

On the 3d of February those who were in the "Battle of Nauvoo" commemorated it with a feast.

On the 6th of April the regular general conference was held, celebrating the organization of the Church; and on the 11th messengers arrived from Great Salt Lake City. They were of the battalion.

A feast was made by President Young on the 29th for his immediate associates, some of whom were going on missions, others were designed to stay on the frontiers to conduct and bring up the emigration; while President Young himself was about to lead the vanguard of the people to the mountains.

About the middle of May, all was bustle at winter quarters. President Young addressed the people Sunday, 14th, blessed those who were going with him to the valley, and those who were to tarry. He also blessed the Pottowatomie land, and prophesied that the Saints would never be driven from the Rocky Mountains.

On the 24th of May President Young started for Elk Horn to organize his company. There were 600 wagons in the encampment. They formed the largest pioneer force which had yet set out to build up the States and Territories destined to spring up on the Pacific slope.

We need not follow the pioneers on their second journey to the Rocky Mountains. Suffice it to say that Brigham led the body of the Church in safety to those mountain retreats, ariving in the City of the Great Salt Lake in September, 1848.

The bare suggestion of an exodus, when the young Prince of Orange proposed to the Dutch the submerging of Holland by the unlocking of her dykes, and the transporting of the nation in her fleets to some virgin soil, rather than be conquered by France, suddenly from the lowest depression aroused the heroism of the people of the Netherlands to the sublimest pitch. It restored the family of the dispossessed Stadtholders; lifted the House of Nassau even above what it was when the young hero's great-grandfather, "William the Silent," founded the Dutch Republic; brought out the fragile stripling who conceived and proposed that exodus, and made him the soul of a European coalition which checkmated the gigantic ambitions of Louis le Grand, and finally placed him on the throne of England as William the Third.

But here, with the Mormons, we have not a mere conception of an exodus, daring as that was, but a veritable exodus itself, of an entire people, reduced to the greatest extremity. There has been nothing of its type for a thousand years. The last was the immortalized "Hegira" of Mohammed, whence dated the Mohammedan era, and the founding of that vast religious empire which for centuries withstood the chivalry of Christendom and contended for the dominion of the world. And what even was the exodus of the disciples of Mohammed, compared with that of the Mormons? Having converted to the cause of Islam twelve citizens from Medina, who came on pilgrimage to the sacred city of Mecca, and through them the warrior chieftains of the rival neighboring city, the Eastern Prophet had merely sent a pioneer band of his adherents there to raise his standard, while he and his faithful Abu Beker brought up the "flight" alone on foot. But the Mormons, under their great leader, passed over the borders of civilization, with their wives and their children, in broad daylight, before the eyes of their enemies, making a journey of fifteen hundred miles across trackless prairies, sandy deserts and rocky mountains. What, indeed, for distance, was the immortalized exodus of ancient Israel compared with that of Mormon Israel under Brigham Young?

# CHAPTER XII.

THE MORMONS IN THEIR NEW "GATHERING PLACE." FIRST CELEBRATION. GROWTH OF THEIR COMMONWEALTH. FOUNDING OF THE STATE OF DESERET. CONGRESS ESTABLISHES A TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION. FAMINE AND CRICKETS. A STRANGE PROPHECY BY HEBER C. KIMBALL, AND A STRANGER FULFILLMENT. THE RUSH OF THE GOLD FINDERS TO CALIFORNIA. GRAND CELEBRATIONS. MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS FOR A NATIONAL RAILROAD TO THE PACIFIC IN 1852. A SLANDER EXPLODED. GRAND RAILROAD DEMONSTRATION IN 1854.

The Saints in the valley had been specially blessed, notwithstanding the adversities attendant upon the first settling of a country so far removed from the borders of civilization. As we have seen, they brought from Nauvoo scarcely a week's supplies for a whole people in their exodus; the rest they had to create, by sending their laborers into the surrounding country. This, with the wise policy of establishing temporary settlements on the route, in time to plant their seed and reap their harvest, had preserved them from want during their two years' sojourn in the wilderness. But a severe winter in the valley on their arrival, considering the condition of a community under such extraordinary circumstances, must have been disastrous, or at least attended with great suffering; but Providence was propitious; the winter was the mildest ever known in that region to this very day; and, when the pioneers returned they found all well. To use their own expressions, the people were "hid in the chambers of the Lord," to rest from the persecutions of their enemies and develop, in their sanctified isolation, those social and religious institutions which they believed, when perfected, would be to the age as the beginning of a new civilization.

On the evening of President Young's arrival, two of his daughters, Elizabeth Ellsworth and Vilate Decker, with their husbands, who came the previous season, made a feast for him and sang a salutation, composed for the occasion by Eliza R. Snow; and, on the Sabbath following, a general welcome was extended by the entire community.

The first celebration in the mountains was held on the 24th of July, 1849—the second anniversary of the entrance of the pioneers.

It was a grand primitive festival. The feast consisted of but few luxuries, yet the day which they celebrated made it a crowning occasion; nor have the immense displays of later years overshadowed this one in the remembrance of the first settlers of the valley.

The people, in their satisfied pride, united to grace the day with primitive taste and beauty, and every device which their inventive skill could bring into requisition, was exhibited in the decorations and performance of the day. It was truly a display of civilization in the midst of a rude wilderness.

The following description of the celebration, by the "Chief Scribe," may be of interest to many:

"The inhabitants were awakened by the firing of cannon, accompanied by music. The brass band playing martial airs, was then carried through the city, returning to the Bower by seven o'clock. The Bower is a building 100 feet long by 60 feet wide, built on 104 posts, and covered with boards; but for the services of this day a canopy or awning was extended about 100 feet from each side of the Bower, to accommodate the vast multitude at dinner.

At half-past seven the large national flag, measuring sixty-five feet in length, was unfurled at the top of the liberty pole, which is 104 feet high, and was saluted by the firing of six guns, the ringing of the Nauvoo bell, and spirit-stirring airs from the band.

At eight o'clock the multitude were called together by music and the firing of guns, the bishops of the several wards arranging themselves in the sides of the aisles, with the banners of their wards unfurled, each bearing some appropriate inscription.

At a quarter-past eight, the Presidency of the Stake, the Twelve, and the bands, went to prepare the escort in the following order, at the house of President Brigham Young, under the direction of Lorenzo Snow, J. M. Grant, and T. D. Richards:

(1) Horace S. Eldridge, marshal, on horseback, in military uniform; (2) brass band; (3) twelve bishops bearing the banners of their wards; (4) seventy-four young men dressed in white, with white scarfs on their right shoulders, and coronets on their heads, each carrying in his right hand a copy of the declaration of independence and the constitution of the United States, and each carrying a sheathed sword in his left hand; one of them carrying a beautiful banner, inscribed on it, "The Zion of the Lord;"

(5) twenty-four young ladies, dressed in white, with white scarfs on their right shoulders, and wreaths of white roses on their heads, each carrying a copy of the Bible and the Book of Mormon, and one carrying a very neat banner, inscribed with "Hail to our Captain"; (6) Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Parley P. Pratt, Charles C. Rich, John Taylor, Daniel Spencer, D. Fullmer, Willard Snow, Erastus Snow; (7) twelve bishops, carrying flags of their wards; (8) twenty-four Silver Greys, led by Isaac Morley, patriarch, each having a staff, painted red at the upper part, and a bunch of white ribbon fastened at the top, one of them carrying the stars and stripes, bearing the inscription, "Liberty and Truth."

The procession started from the house at nine o'clock. The young men and young ladies sang a hymn through the streets, the cannon roared, the musketry rolled, the Nauvoo bell pealed forth its silvery notes, and the air was filled by the sweet strains of the brass band. On arriving at the Bower the escort was received with shouts of "Hosanna! to God and the Lamb!" While the presidency, patriarch and presiding bishops were passing down the aisle, the people cheered and shouted "Hail to the Governor of Deseret." These being seated by the committee on the stand, the escort passed round the assembly, singing a hymn of praise, marched down the aisle, and were seated in double rows on either side. The assembly was called to order by Mr. J. M. Grant. On being seated Mr. Erastus Snow offered up a prayer.

Richard Ballantine, one of the twenty-four young men, came to the stand, and in a neat speech presented the declaration of independence, and the constitution of the United States, to President Young, which was received with three shouts, "May it live for ever," led by the President.

The declaration of independence was then read by Mr. Erastus Snow, the band following with a lively air.

The clerk then read "The Mountain Standard," composed by Parley P. Pratt:

> "Lo the Gentile chain is broken,
> Freedom's banner waves on high."

After the above had been sung by the twenty-four young men and young ladies, Mr. Phineas Richards came forward in behalf of the twenty-four aged sires in Israel, and read their congratulatory address on the anniversary of the day. At the conclusion of the reading, the assembly rose and shouted three times, "Hosanna! hosanna! hosanna! to God "and the Lamb, for ever and ever, Amen," while the banners were waved by the bishops. The band next played a lively air, and the clerk then rose and read an "Ode on Liberty."

The ode was then sung by the twenty-four Silver Greys to the tune of "Bruce's Address to His Army."

The hour of intermission having arrived, the escort was reformed, the bishops of each ward collected the inhabitants of their respective wards together, and marched with them to the dinner tables, when several thousand of the Saints dined sumptuously on the fruits of the earth. Several hundred emigrants also partook of the repast, as did also three score Indians."

The community grew so rapidly that before the close of the second year it was deemed wise to establish a constitutional secular government, and accordingly representatives of the people met in convention, and formed the "Provisional Government of the State of Deseret." A constitution was adopted, and delegates sent to Washington, asking admission into the Union. Here is what they said :

"We, the people, grateful to the Supreme Being for the blessings hitherto enjoyed, and feeling our dependence on Him for a continuation of those blessings, do ordain and establish a free and independent government by the name of the State of Deseret, including all the Territory of the United States within the following boundaries, to wit: commencing at the 33d deg. of north latitude, where it crosses the 108th deg. of longitude west from Greenwich ; thence running south and west to the boundary of Mexico ; thence west to and down the main channel of the Gila River (or the northern part of Mexico), and on the northern boundary of Lower California to the Pacific Ocean ; thence along the coast northwesterly to the 118th deg. 30th min. of west longitude ; thence north to where said line intersects the dividing ridge of the Sierra Nevada Mountains to the dividing range of mountains that separates the waters flowing into the Columbia River from the waters running into the great basin on the south, to the summit of the Wind River chain of mountains ; thence southeast and south by the dividing range of mountains that separates the waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico from the waters flowing into the Gulf of California, to the place of beginning, as set forth in a map drawn by Charles Preuss, and published by order of the Senate of the United States, in 1848."

When it is remembered that this vast tract of country, thus mapped out for the State of Deseret, is the very antipodes of the ancient land of Canaan ; not "flowing with milk and honey," but literally barren and desolate ; the projectors of the scheme will surely receive more credit for their "pluck" than censure for their ambition. Nor did the Mormon pioneers wantonly map out more Territory than their faith led them to believe they could subdue and occupy; for with prophetic eye they saw an innumerable company gathering to their standard, in support of the divine mission of their Prophet. Neither is their faith concerning this matter materially changed to-day, notwithstanding the fact that Congress has, from time to time, largely contracted their original boundaries.

A Governor (Brigham Young), Lieut.-Governor, Judges and Legislators for the State of Deseret, were duly elected, and all swore fidelity to the constitution of the United States. But Congress, instead, saw fit to disregard their desire for a State organization, and on the 9th of September, 1850, passed an act, organizing the Territory of Utah within the following limits: "Bounded on the west "by the State of California; on the north by the "Territory of Oregon; on the east by the summits "of the Rocky Mountains; and on the south by "the 37th parallel of north latitude," with the proviso that Congress should be at liberty, when it might be deemed "convenient and proper," to cut it up into two or more Territories, or to attach any portion of it to any other State or Territory. On the 20th of the same month, President Fillmore, "with the advice and consent of the Senate," appointed Brigham Young Governor of Utah; B. D. Harris, of Vermont, Secretary; Joseph Buffington, of Pennsylvania, Chief Justice; Perry E. Brocchus, of Alabama, and Zerubbabel Snow, of Ohio, Associate Justices; Seth M. Blair, of Deseret, U. S.

Attorney; and Joseph L. Heywood, of Deseret, U. S. Marshal; but Buffington declining the office of Chief Justice, Lemuel G. Brandebury was appointed in his stead. These appointments gave the majority of the Federal offices to the people, Snow, Blair and Heywood being Mormons.

The choice of Governor was made upon the recommendation of Col. Thomas L. Kane, but President Fillmore could not with consistency have appointed any other than Brigham Young, for though his ecclesiastical supremacy might have been objectionable to the Government, Congress could not wisely have set aside his just claims. On their side, the Saints signified their grateful appreciation by naming the capital of the Territory "Fillmore," and the county in which it was located, "Millard." At Fillmore, which is one hundred and fifty miles south of Salt Lake City, the "State House" was built; and there, for some years, the Legislative Assembly met; but at a later period, the capital of Utah was removed to Salt Lake City.

Governor Young took the oath of office on the 3d of February, 1851; and on the 25th of March, he issued a special message to the General Assembly of the State of Deseret, notifying them of the action of Congress. On the 5th of April, 1852, Deseret was officially merged into the Territory of Utah.

Of course, in the founding of Utah, there was much that was peculiar to the people in their social and governmental methods; but in nothing were they more peculiar than in their judicial affairs. The did not believe in going to law one with another. They took their cases to the "High Council" and the courts of their bishops, or Ward Councils. Their judicial economy was after the patterns of the New Testament rather than after the patterns of Blackstone. It was this which made Mormon rule so obnoxious to Federal judges and Gentile lawyers. Federal judges could not possibly find their vocation in a purely Mormon commonwealth, nor could Gentile lawyers reach the pockets of the people.

The Federal officials arrived in Utah in July, 1851. By an uncalled for and injudicious attempt to meddle with the social and religious peculiarities of the people, they soon rendered themselves unpopular. Being thus brought to a condition of social self-ostracism, their stay became irksome and intolerable, and they accordingly accepted the first convenient occasion to resign and retire from the Territory.

Judges Reed and Shaver, and Secretary Ferris, succeeded the retiring officials, and their intercourse with the people was markedly wiser and more successful than that of their predecessors. Judges Reed and Shaver soon died (the former while on a visit to New York), and Secretary Ferris, after publishing an anti-Mormon book, retired from the United States service in Utah.

The next set of Federal officials, Chief Justice Kinney, Associate Justices Stiles and Drummond, and Secretary Babbitt, had a more lengthy and important connection with the affairs of the Territory. Justice Drummond became particularly conspicuous as a mischief maker, many of the more serious governmental perplexities and difficulties of the Mormon people being popularly accredited to his Mephistophelian tendencies. Largely through his efforts and representations, the uncharitable and bigoted elements of the country were brought into array against Governor Young, and President Pierce was prevailed upon to determine his removal from the Governorship.

In 1854, Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Steptoe, with about three hundred of his regiment, arrived in the Territory on their way to California, and to him, early in December, President Pierce tendered the Governorship of Utah; but a memorial to His Excellency, headed by Chief Justice Kinney and Colonel Steptoe, obtained Brigham's re-appointment as Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs. (See Chapter XIV.)

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The destitute condition of the Saints in their exodus has already been depicted, and such, in a measure, must have inevitably been their condition during the first seasons spent in a country where Colonel Bridger had supposed not even a bushel of wheat could be raised. Their crops, however, had been plentiful, but the large emigration of their people from the frontiers and from Europe, in 1847 and 1848; may readily suggest that the products of the country raised by the few must, at the best, have fallen far short of the most primitive necessities of the community.

Then came the desolating crickets before the harvest of 1848. Their ravages were frightful.

Countless hosts attacked the fields of grain. The crops were threatened with utter destruction. The valleys appeared as though scorched by fire. Famine stared the settlers in the face. All were in danger of perishing. America and Europe were shocked with the prospect of a whole community being doomed to absolute starvation before succor could be sent, even had the benevolent Christian world been disposed to feed the outcast Mormons from its overflowing granaries.

Then came the manifestation of a special providence. Immense flocks of gulls came up from the islands of the lake, to make war upon the destroying hosts. Like good angels they came at the dawn; all day they feasted upon the crickets. When full they disgorged and feasted again. Thus the gulls certainly saved the Mormons in 1848. They were, indeed, as angels sent, and the grateful people treated them as such. This incident, along with that of the coming of the flock of quails to the remnant of the exiles from Nauvoo, as they laid sick and starving on the banks of the Mississippi, will live in Mormon history, to be deservedly compared with the feeding of the Children of Israel in the wilderness.

Even as it was, there was a season of famine in Utah; but like as in the second famine in 1856, none perished from starvation. In both cases the patriarchal character of the community saved it. As one great family, they shared the substance of the country. The inventory of provisions in the Spring of 1849 showed that there was only three-quarters of a pound of breadstuffs per day in the whole Territory for each person, up to the 5th of July. It is evident that in all these times of famine, as in their exodus and emigrations, the Mormons owe their preservation to their patriarchal and communistic organization. The people were put upon rations. Still their breadstuffs were insufficient, and many went out with the Indians and dug small native roots, while some, in their destitution, took the hides of animals which covered the roofs of their houses, and cut them up and cooked them. But the harvest of 1849 was abundant, and the people were saved.

By this time the Mormons in Utah were as destitute of clothing and every kind of "States goods" as they had been of food. Now came another providential circumstance to help them in their time of need. Now came another event which not only gave prosperity to Utah, but a dispensation of wealth to the nation, and new States and Territories to her dominions. It scarcely need be said that this was the discovery of gold in California.

A happy prophecy of Heber C. Kimball is immortalized in connection with this event. Here is the often-told story, which, unlike most popular stories, is singularly true:

After the return of the pioneers from winter quarters to the Valley, in 1848, bringing with them the body of the Church, which had become, during the sojourn in the wilderness, nearly as primitive in the matter of clothing as the Indians, the spirit of prophecy rested upon Heber, and, to the astonishment of the congregation of Israel, and greatly to the provocation of their unbelief, he predicted that

"States goods" should be sold in the streets of Salt Lake City as cheap as in New York, and that the people should be abundantly provided with clothing. The fulfillment, of course, was to be immediate, or the prophecy would be worthless. After dwelling upon this most blessed gospel news, if true, Heber sat down, and the "spirit went out of "him." Then the Prophet doubted his own words, and confessed to the brethren his fears that he had "*missed it this time.*" Yet it was the best prophetic *hit* of his life. Brigham, when leading the Mormons from Nauvoo, had made a similar prediction, declaring that in "five years" they should be "better off" than ever they had been. Both prophecies were hanging on some coming event then unseen.

Here is how the fulfillment was brought about, coupled with an episode of California and the Mormon battalion:

Destiny led the Mormon pioneers to the valleys of Utah. Destiny went with the Mormon battalion to California in the expedition of General S. W. Kearney, whose instructions from the Secretary of War were to "conquer" California, and set up a provisional military government there in the name of the United States. California, however, was won by Fremont and his volunteers, and the United States flag was hoisted in the Bay of San Francisco by Commodore Stockton before the arrival of Gen. Kearney. A battle or two, by the regular troops under Kearney, completed the conquest. Had not the General been forestalled by Fremont, the Mormons would have been among his most reliable soldiers in the conquest of that country. As it was, Kearney found the situation claimed by several rival Governors. Fremont was the hero. Fremont was his great rival. The hero was in rebellion. He refused at first to resign to the military chief the government of the conquered Province. He might have even won the position from the rightful Governor on the strength of his claims as conqueror, supported by his popularity; but at this crisis of affairs Col. Phillip St. George Cooke arrived in California with his command—the Mormon battalion. Their coming gave to Kearney the victory over his rival. He consulted with Colonel Cooke, who assured him that he could rely on his Mormon soldiers to a man. This decided the General. He resolved to force the issue and arrest his rival. This was consummated, and Fremont was carried to Washington for trial, *under a Mormon guard.* The famous case of Kearney and Fremont forms quite a chapter of American history, but it is not so well known how conspicuous a part the Mormon soldiers played in the case. They did, in fact, very materially help their General accomplish his mission of establishing in California the regular authority of the United States.

The Mormon battalion fought no battles during the service, but its soldiers performed one of the most remarkable marches on record.

The battalion was discharged. It was then that these disbanded soldiers did for America a work in California which will not be forgotten, even when the West shall have become the rival of the East in wealth and dominion. It was their shovels upon which the gold first glittered, inviting adventurous millions to the Pacific coast.

On being discharged from the United States service, four of the Mormon battalion found employ with Mr. Thomas Marshall, in digging Captain Sutter's mill race. One day these brethren were attracted by the mysterious movements of their foreman, Mr. Marshall, whom they partly surprised in the act of washing something which his shovel had just turned up. That something was gold! The discovery was at once shared by Mr. Marshall and his men. Of course, at first, there was some secrecy preserved, but such a discovery could not be long hid, and soon the Mormons of California, both those of the battalion and those who sailed to the Bay of San Francisco with Mr. Samuel Brannan in the ship *Brooklyn*, were working in the gold diggings. So that notwithstanding Mr. Marshall's shovel brought the initial glitter of California gold to light, it was the ordained shovels of Mormon Elders that published the golden tidings to the world. It is not a little curious, too, that the gold of California pretty faithfully at first paid tithing to the Church. But the Mormons, as a class, did not resign their mission for the service of Mammon. The brethren of the battalion returned to their families in the Valley, leaving the pursuit of gold to the Gentiles, yet bringing with them large quantities of the precious "dust." The Church at once became wealthy; a "mint" was established in Zion, and a gold currency issued; but before this had also been fulfilled the prophecy of Heber C. Kimball.

No sooner was the discovery bruited than the whole civilized world seemed to be rushing to the new El Dorado. Scarcely a nation but sent its adventurous spirits to the paradise of gold which Mormon elders had found. A paradise soon to be transformed into a veritable pandemonium. But from the American States themselves came colony after colony pouring daily toward the west. Gold was the incentive at first, but as that wondrous emigrational tide swelled, it became more like the migration of a dominant race for the purpose of founding a new empire. This did finally become the proper character of the movement. The exodus of the Saints seemed to have been but as a pioneer impulse which all America was in turn to feel.

The best blood of America was in those emigrant companies, and they took with them enough resources to found a new State; but there was no "royal road" to the land of gold; fifteen hundred miles then intervened between the western frontier of the States and Salt Lake City. The Mormon Zion became the "half-way house" of the nation.

But the ambitious and spirited emigrants to California could not endure the tedious journey as the Saints had done. Before they reached the mountains they began to leave fragments of their richly-laden trains by the wayside. All along the route was strewn valuable freight, with the ruins of wagons and the carcasses of oxen and mules.

By the time the gold finders reached the valley of the Great Salt Lake, they were utterly impatient and demoralized. Many had loaded their trains with clothing, dry goods, general merchandise, mechanics' tools and machinery, expecting to find a market where gold was dug and a new country to be settled. But the merchant, alike with the adventurer, was at last subdued by the contagion of the gold fever, and provoked into a mania of impatience by the tedious journey. News also reached the overland emigrants that steamers, laden with merchandise, had sailed from New York to California. The speculations of the merchants lost their last charm. That which was destined for California was left in Utah. In absolute disgust for their trains of merchandise and splendid emigrant outfits, they gave the bulk to the Mormons at their own price, and for the most ordinary means of barter. A horse or a mule outfit to carry the gold finder quickly to his destination, was taken as an equivalent for wagons, cattle and merchandise.

Thus the destitute Mormons, by as strange a providence as one could conceive, were suddenly made prosperous in all they most needed by the simplest exchanges, and their supply of cattle and mules was greatly augmented by the temporarily exhausted but excellent stock of the emigrants.

Thus was the remarkable prophecy of Heber C. Kimball fulfilled, with a detailed exactness that seldom falls to the lot of prophecies. "States goods" were purchased in the *streets* of Salt Lake City cheaper than in New York; in some cases for a tenth of their original cost. Brigham's prophecy to the Saints, when they left Nauvoo, was also verified. Within the given "five years" they were, indeed, better off than they had ever been before.

In 1852 the people had a grand celebration of the Fourth of July. This was the first notable celebration of our national anniversary by the Mormons since their arrival in the valley, though it was kept by the pioneers on the way, both at winter quarters and as they approached the haven of their search. They had afterwards, in a manner, blended the idea and spirit of the fourth with the twenty-fourth, which they esteem as the natal day of Utah. On the first celebration of the twenty-fourth, the constitution of the United States was presented to the Governor of the State of Deseret, and the declaration of independence read, but the honor of the year, in 1852, was given to the Fourth of July.

The Saints, however, could not altogether forget their exile. Their expulsions and other wrongs rankled in their hearts and in their memories, for they were mostly American born who occupied the valleys at that time. The Fourth of July, therefore, was just the occasion to call up some bitter remembrances, which not even a genuine patriotism could quite subdue. This latter feeling was allowed public expression by the reading of the following poem, composed for the occasion, by Eliza R. Snow:

Shall we commemorate the day
  Whose genial influence has passed o'er?
Shall we our hearts' best tribute pay
  Where heart and feeling are no more?

Shall we commemorate the day,
  With freedom's ensign waving high,
Whose blood-stained banner 's furled away,
  Whose rights and freedom have gone by?

Shall we, when gasping 'neath its wave,
  Extol the beauties of the sea?
Or, lashed upon fair freedom's grave,
  Proclaim the strength of liberty?

It is heart-rending mockery!
  I'd sooner laugh midst writhing pain,
Than chant the Song of Liberty
  Beneath oppression's galling chain!

Columbia's glory is a theme
  That with our life's warm pulses grew;
But ah! 'tis fled; and like a dream,
  Its ghost is flutt'ring in our view!

Her dying groans—her fun'ral knell
  We've heard, for oh! we've had to fly!
And now, alas! we know too well,
  The days of freedom have gone by.

Protection faints and justice cow'rs—
  Redress is slumbering on the heath;
And 'tis in vain to lavish flowers
  Upon our country's fading wreath!

Better implore His aid divine,
  Whose arm can make his people free;
Than decorate the hollow shrine
  Of our departed liberty!

Yet an excellent accompaniment of this gifted lady's theme will be found in the following, from a patriotic speech, delivered on that occasion, by Gen. Wells. He said:

"It has been thought by some that this people, abused, maltreated, insulted, robbed, plundered and finally disfranchised and expatriated, would naturally feel reluctant to again unite their destiny with the American Republic. No wonder that it was thought by some that we would not again submit ourselves (even while we were yet scorned and ridiculed) to return to our allegiance to our native country. Remember, that it was by the act of our country, not ours, that we were expatriated; and then consider the opportunity we had of forming other ties; let this pass while we lift the veil and show the policy which dictated us. That country, that constitution, those institutions were all ours—they are still ours. Our fathers were heroes of the revolution. Under the master spirits of an Adams, a Jefferson, and a Washington, they declared and maintained their independence; and under the guidance of the spirit of truth, they fulfilled their mission whereunto they were sent from the presence of the Father. Because demagogues have arisen and seized the reins of power, should we relinquish our interest in that country, made dear to us by every tie of association and consanguinity? * * * Those who have indulged such sentiments concerning us, have not read Mormonism aright; for never, no never, will we desert our country's cause; never will we be found arrayed by the side of her enemies, although she herself may cherish them in her own bosom. Although she may launch forth the thunder-bolts of war, which may return and spend their fury upon her own head, never, no never, will we permit the weakness of human nature to triumph over our love of country, our devotion to her institutions, handed down to us by our honored sires, made dear by a thousand tender recollections."

"Such, surely," says Stansbury, "is neither the "language nor the spirit of a disloyal people."

The fact, too, that the people kept the Fourth of July during the pioneer journey to the mountains, when no eye but God's saw them, and there was no need for a display of loyalty for political purposes shows how genuine is their love of country and reverence for the constitution. The address of President Young also, on the occasion of the calling of the Mormon battalion, is a rare example of this. Notwithstanding they had looked upon the "call" as a test of Mormon loyalty, and knew that it would prevent their going to the mountains that year, and rob them of the flower of their camps, he prompted the volunteers to their duty, as we have before recorded, in this remarkable manner:

"I want to say to every man, the constitution of
" the United States, as formed by our fathers, was
" dictated, was revealed, was put into their hearts
" by the Almighty, who sits enthroned in the midst
" of the heavens; although unknown to them, it
" was dictated by the revelations of Jesus Christ,
" and I tell you in the name of Jesus Christ, it is as
" good as I could ever ask for. I say unto you,
" magnify the laws. There is no law in the United
" States, or in the constitution, but I am ready to
" make honorable."

Yet, if to boldly stand up for their own constitutional rights, and to protest against the maladministration of Federal rule over the Territories, be disloyalty, Brigham Young and his people have been disloyal enough.

An incident of their history, at this date, relative to the construction of a great national railroad to the Pacific coast, is too suggestive to be omitted, and it will be an excellent refutation of the slander that the Mormons courted a semi-barbaric isolation.

At the first session of the Territorial Legislature, held in 1851–2, in Salt Lake City, memorials to Congress were adopted, praying for the construction of a national central railroad, and also a telegraph line from the Missouri River, *via* Salt Lake City, to the Pacific. The following memorial was signed and approved by Governor Young, March 3d, 1852:

"*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress Assembled:*

Your memorialists, the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, respectfully pray your honorable body to provide for the establishment of a national central railroad from some eligible point on the Mississippi or Missouri River, to San Diego, San Francisco, Sacramento or Astoria, or such other point on or near the Pacific coast as the wisdom of your honorable body may dictate.

Your memorialists respectfully state that the immense emigration to and from the Pacific requires the immediate attention, guardian care and fostering assistance of the greatest and most liberal Government on the earth. Your memorialists are of the opinion that not less than five thousand American citizens have perished on the different routes within the last three years, for the want of proper means of transportation. That an eligible route can be obtained, your memorialists have no doubt, being extensively acquainted with the country. We know that no obstruction exists between this point and San Diego, and that iron, coal, timber, stone and other materials exist in various places on the route; and that the settlements of this Territory are so situated as to amply supply the builders of said road with materials and provisions for a considerable portion of the route, and to carry on an extensive trade after the road is completed.

Your memorialists are of opinion that the mineral resources of California and these mountains can never be fully developed to the benefit of the

United States, without the construction of such a road; and upon its completion, the entire trade of China and the East Indies will pass through the heart of the Union, thereby giving our citizens the almost entire control of the Asiatic and Pacific trade; pouring into the lap of the American States the millions that are now diverted through other commercial channels; and last, though not least, the road herein proposed would be a perpetual chain or iron band, which would effectually hold together our glorious Union with an imperishable identity of mutual interest; thereby consolidating our relations with foreign powers in times of peace, and our defence from foreign invasion, by the speedy transmission of troops and supplies, in time of war.

The earnest attention of Congress to this important subject is solicited by your memorialists, who, in duty bound, will ever pray."

Herein will be seen that strong Mormon ambition for the glory and unity of our common country manifested throughout the entire history of this people, when the national destiny is not made to mean the extinction of the Mormons in its manifest course. With that qualification the Mormons were, in their design, as much the pioneers of this "great "national railroad," to unite the two halves of the continent, and pour millions of people on to the Pacific slope, to build up a galaxy of new States, as they had been of the emigration itself in that direction; and this, too, was quite in keeping with that bold offer made to the Government by Joseph Smith, in 1843, to enter into the service of the nation, with several thousand well armed volunteers, to be followed by the entire Mormon community, to conquer the Pacific dominion for the United States, and checkmate the aims of Great Britain to establish herself on this coast by the connivance of Mexico.

On the 31st of January, 1854, there was another movement of the people for a Pacific railroad. The citizens of Salt Lake and surrounding country, men and women, gathering *en masse* to make a grand demonstration in its favor.

# CHAPTER XIII.

PICTURES OF MORMON SOCIETY IN THE FOUNDING OF UTAH. LIFE AMONG THE SAINTS. THEIR SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS PECULIARITIES AND CUSTOMS. ECSTACY OF THE GOLD FINDERS WHEN THEY CAME UPON "ZION." VIEWS BY STANSBURY, GUNNISON, AND NOTED ENGLISH TRAVELERS, OF THE MORMONS AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS.

It is thought that a few pictures of the early days of Utah, and of Mormon society in its primeval forms, may have a special interest to visitors of to-day, who go up to the New Jerusalem of the West in luxurious palace cars. They shall be the pictures which struck the fancy, or the judgment, of the intelligent "gentile" who first came upon the peculiar people, just settled in the valleys of Utah, yet described them in wonderment, much as they would have done had they come upon the strange habitations and inhabitants of another world. There is a graphic life touch in some of those sketches—mere letters though they were—that the imagination of the best artist could not equal. They are realistic pictures of what was; romances of social life, so to speak, that were not dreams.

Gunnison, in his "History of the Mormons," observes:

"This treatise on the faith and condition of the Mormons, results from a careful observation of that strange and interesting people, during more than a year's residence among them, in an official capacity. It was conceived that what is influencing the conscientious character of a half million souls, is worthy a serious investigation, though not pertinent to an official report under government auspices. For those who desire *facts* in the history of humanity, on which to indulge in reflection, is this offered. It were far easier to give a romantic sketch in lofty metaphors, of the genesis and exodus of the empire-founding Saints—the subject is its own epic of heroism, whose embellishment is left to imaginative genius, and its philosophy to be deduced by the candid philanthropist. * * * But the peculiar character of the founders of Deseret, their energy, union, and hopes, stimulated by their religious views, more especially demand our notice; and this subject is equally interesting to the politician, the philosopher, and the theologian. We found them, in 1849, organized into a State, with all the order of legislative, judicial, and executive offices regularly filled, under a constitution eminently republican in sentiment, and tolerant in religion; and though the authority of Congress has not yet sanctioned this form of Government, presented and petitioned for, they proceed quietly with all the routine of an organized self-governing people, under the title of a Territory—being satisfied to abide their time, in accession of strength by numbers, when they may be deemed fit to take a sovereign position, being contented, so long as allowed to enjoy the substance, under the shadow of a name. They lay and collect taxes, raise and equip troops for protection, in full sovereignty, on the soil they helped to conquer first and to subdue to use afterward."

Here is a graphic sketch from the artistic pen of a gold digger, a correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, under date of July 8th, 1849:

"The company of gold diggers which I have the honor to command, arrived here on the 3d instant, and judge our feelings when, after some twelve hundred miles travel through an uncultivated desert, and the last one hundred miles of the distance through and among lofty mountains, and narrow and difficult ravines, we found ourselves suddenly, and almost unexpectedly, in a comparative paradise. * * * At first sight of all these signs of cultivation in the wilderness, we were transported with wonder and pleasure. Some wept, some gave three cheers, some laughed, and some ran and fairly danced for joy, while all felt inexpressibly happy to find themselves once more amid scenes which mark the progress of advancing civilization. We passed on amid scenes like these, expecting every moment to come to some commercial centre, some business point in this great metropolis of the mountains, but we were disappointed. No hotel, sign post, cake and beer shop, barber pole, market house, grocery, provision, dry goods, or hardware store distinguished one part of the town from another; not even a bakery or mechanic's sign was anywhere discernible.

Here, then, was something new; an entire people reduced to a level, and all living by their labor—all cultivating the earth, or following some branch of physical industry. At first I thought it was an experiment, an order of things established purposely to carry out the principles of 'socialism' or 'Mormonism.' In short, I thought it very much like Owenism personified. However, on inquiry, I found that a combination of seemingly unavoidable circumstances had produced this singular state of affairs. There were no hotels, because there had been no travel; no barber's shops, because every one chose to shave himself, and no one had time to shave his neighbor; no stores, because they had no goods to sell, nor time to traffic; no centre of business, because all were too busy to make a centre.

There was abundance of mechanics' shops, of dressmakers, milliners and tailors, &c.; but they needed no sign, nor had they time to paint or erect one, for they were crowded with business. Beside their several trades, all must cultivate the land, or die, for the country was new, and no cultivation but their own within a thousand miles. Every one had his own lot, and built on it; every one cultivated it, and perhaps a small farm in the distance.

And the strangest of all was, that this great city, extending over several square miles, had been erected, and every house and fence made, within nine or ten months of the time of our arrival; while at the same time, good bridges were erected over the principal streams, and the country settlements extended nearly one hundred miles up and down the valley.

This Territory, State, or, as some term it, 'Mormon empire,' may justly be considered one of the greatest prodigies of our time, and, in comparison with its age, the most gigantic of all Republics in existence—being only in its second year since the first seed of cultivation was planted, or the first civilized habitation commenced. If these people were such thieves and robbers as their enemies represented them to be in the States, I must think they have greatly reformed in point of industry since coming to the mountains.

I this day attended worship with them in the open air. Some thousands of well dressed, intelligent-looking people assembled; a number of them on foot, some in carriages, and some on horseback. Many were neatly and even fashionably clad. The beauty and neatness of the ladies reminded me of some of our best congregations of New York.

They had a choir of both sexes, who performed exceedingly well, accompanied by a band, playing well on almost every musical instrument of modern invention. Peals of the most sweet, sacred and solemn music filled the air; after which, a solemn prayer was offered by Mr. Grant (a Latter-day Saint), of Philadelphia. Then followed various business advertisements, read by the clerk. * * * After this, came a lengthy discourse by Mr. Brigham Young, President of the Society, partaking somewhat of politics, much of religion and philosophy, and a little on the subject of gold; showing the wealth, strength and glory of England, growing out of her coal mines, iron and industry, and the weakness, corruption and degradation of Spanish America, Spain, &c., growing out of their gold and silver, and idle habits.

He further observed that the people here would petition to be organized into a Territory under the American Government, notwithstanding its abuses, and that, if granted, they would stand by the constitution and laws of the United States; while, at the same time, he denounced their corruption and abuses.

'But,' said the speaker, 'we ask no odds of them, whether they grant us our petition or not! We never will ask any odds of a nation that has driven us from our homes. If they grant us our rights, well; if not, well; they can do no more than they have done. They, and ourselves, and all men, are in the hands of the great God, who will govern all things for good; and all will be right, and work together for good to them that serve God.'

Such, in part, was the discourse to which we listened in the strongholds of the mountains. The Mormons are not dead, nor is their spirit broken. And, if I mistake not, there is a noble, daring, stern and democratic spirit swelling in their bosoms, which will people these mountains with a race of independent men, and influence the destiny of our country and the world for a hundred generations. In their religion they seem charitable, devoted and sincere; in their politics, bold daring and determined; in their domestic circle, quiet, affectionate and happy; while in industry, skill and intelligence they have few equals, and no superiors on earth.

I had many strange feelings while contemplating this new civilization, growing up so suddenly in the wilderness. I almost wished I could awake from my golden dream. and find it but a dream; while I pursued my domestic duties as quietly, as happily, and contentedly as this strange people.

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"These Mormons," says Gunnison, "are certainly " the most earnest religionists I have ever been " among. It seems to be a constant self-sacrifice " with them, which makes me believe that the " masses of the people are honest and sincere.

" While professing a complete divorce of Church " and State, their political character and administra- " tion is made subservient to the theocratical or re- " ligious element. They delight to call their sys- " tem of government a 'theo-democracy,' and that, " in a civil capacity, they stand as the Israelites of " old under Moses. For the rule of those not fully " imbued with the spirit of obedience, and sojourn- " ers not of the faith, as well as for things purely " temporal, tribunals of justice and law-making as- " semblies are at present rendered necessary.

" The influence of their nomenclature of 'breth- " 'ren and sisters' is apparent in their actions, and " creates the bond of affection among those who are "more frequently thrown together. It is impressed "on infantile minds by the constant repetition, and "induces the feeling of family relationship. A "little boy was asked the usual question, 'whose "'son are you?' and he very naively replied, 'I "'am Brother Pack's son;' a small circumstance, "truly, but one that stamps the true mark of Mormon society. The welfare of the order becomes, "therefore, paramount to individual interest; and "the union of hearts causes the hands to unite in "all that pertains to the glory of the State; and "hence we see growing up and prospering the most "enterprising people of the age—combining the "advantages of communism, placed on the basis of "religious duty and obedience to what they call the "law of the gospel—transcending the notion of "socialistic philosophers, that human regulations "can improve and perfect society, irrespective of "the revealed word of God.

"Right or wrong, in the development of the principle, and in its application, they have seized upon "the most permanent element of the human mind "in its social relations—not yielding fully to the "doctrines of earnestness and universal intention, "and making man his own regenerator, as the fountain head of truth, and passing thence into mysticism, pantheism and atheism, neither endeavoring to cure the ills of society by political notions "of trade and commerce, nor by educating in the "sentiment of honor, and by political inculcation of "high thoughts and noble images, independent of "being 'born of the water and of the spirit.'

"Nor must we look upon all as ignorant and

" blindfolded, guided along the ditch of enthusiasm " by self-deluded leaders. Indeed, almost every " man is a priest, or eligible to the office, and ready " armed for the controversial warfare. His creed is " his idol. And while among the best proselytes " we class many that are least versed in literary " attainments, still among them we find liberally " educated men, and those who have been ministers " in other denominations—in fact there seems to be " as fair a sample of intelligence, moral probity, and " good citizenship, as can be found in any nominal " Christian community.

" Sincerity and simplicity of purpose mark the " masses, which virtues have been amply proved by " the sacrifices and suffering endured. And among " the people, so submissive to counsel, are those " who watch with eagle eye that first principles are " adhered to, and stand ready to proclaim apostacy " in chief or layman, and scrutinizing all revelations " to discover whether they are from the Lord, or " given, through his permission, by Satan, to test " the fidelity and watchfulness of the disciples of " truth. Litigation is much discouraged, and it is " specially thought improper for brother to go to " law with brother, and that before unbelievers; so " each bishop is a sort of county court judge be-" tween man and man, with an appeal to the whole " 'bench,' and a final resort to Brigham, who does " good practical justice without any embarrassment " from statute or common law.

" This people are jealous of their rights, and feel " themselves entitled to enforce order by their own " laws, and severely punish contempt of them. The "administration of justice is of the most simple "kind, and based on the equity and the merits of "the question, without reference to precedents and "technicalities, referring to the rules of the Mosaic "Code, and its manner of punishment, when applicable. Witnesses are seldom put on oath in the "lower courts, and there is nothing known of the "'law's delay.'"

Another correspondent writing to a New York paper said:

"It is now three years since the Mormons arrived in Salt Lake valley, and their energy in laying out a city, building, fencing farms, raising crops, &c., is truly wonderful to behold, and is but another striking demonstration of the indefatigable enterprise, industry, and perseverance of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The Mormons, take them as a body, I truly believe are a most industrious people, and, I confess, as intelligent as any I have met with when in the East or West. It is true they are a little fanatical about their religious views, which is not at all strange when compared with the majority of religious denominations in the East. But let no man be deceived in his estimation of the people who have settled here. Any people who have the courage to travel over plains, rivers and mountains, for twelve hundred miles, such, probably, as cannot be traveled over in any other part of the world, to settle in a region which scarcely ever received the tread of any but the wild savages and beasts who roam the wilderness, must be possessed of an indomitable energy that is but rarely met with."

W. Kelty, in his "Excursions in California in the Early Days," says:

"The houses are small, principally of adobes, built up only as temporary abodes, until the more urgent and important matter of inclosure and cultivation are attended to; but I never saw anything to surpass the ingenuity of arrangement with which they are fitted up, and the scrupulous cleanliness with which they are kept. There were tradesmen and artizans of all descriptions, but no regular stores or workshops, except forges. Still, from the shoeing of a wagon to the mending of a watch, there was no difficulty experienced in getting it done as cheap and as well put out of hand as in any other city in America. Notwithstanding the oppressing temperature, they were all hard at work at their trades, and abroad in the fields, weeding, moulding, and irrigating; and it certainly speaks volumes for their energy and industry, to see the quantity of land they have fenced in, and the breadth under cultivation, considering the very short time since they founded the settlement in 1847.

After bathing, we dressed in our best attire, and prepared to attend the Mormon service, held for the present in the large space adjoining the intended Temple, which is only just above the foundations, but will be a structure of stupendous proportions, and, if finished according to the plan, of surpassing elegance. I went early, and found a rostrum in front of which there were rows of stools and chairs for the townfolks; those from the country, who arrived in great numbers, in light wagons, sitting on chairs, took up their stations in their vehicles in the background, after unharnessing the horses. There was a very large and most respectable congregation; the ladies attired in rich and becoming costumes, each with parasols; and I hope I may say, without any imputation of profanity, a more bewitching assemblage of the sex it has rarely been my lot to look upon."

A still more important authority on Mormon society, in the early days of Utah, was Captain Stansbury, who was sent out by the government to survey the lakes, accompanied by Lieutenant Gunnison. He says in his official report:

"The founding, within the space of three years, of a large and flourishing community, upon a spot so remote from the abodes of men, so completely shut out by natural barriers from the rest of the world, so entirely unconnected by water-courses with either of the oceans that wash the shores of this continent—a country offering no advantages of inland navigation or of foreign commerce, but, on the contrary, isolated by vast uninhabited deserts, and only to be reached by long, painful, and often hazardous journeys by land—presents an anomaly so very peculiar, that it deserves more than a passing notice. In this young and prosperous country of ours, where cities grow up in a day, and States spring up in a year, the successful planting of a colony, where the natural advantages have been such as to hold out the promise of adequate reward to the projectors, would have excited no surprise; but the success of an enterprise under circumstances so at variance with all our pre-conceived ideas of its probability, may well be considered one of the most remarkable incidents of the present age.

Their admirable system of combining labor, while each has his own property, in lands and tenements, and the proceeds of his industry, the skill in dividing off the lands, and conducting the irrigating canals to supply the want of rain, which rarely falls between April and October; the cheerful manner in which every one applies himself industriously, but not laboriously; the complete reign of good neighborhood and quiet in house and fields, form themes for admiration to the stranger coming from the dark and sterile recesses of the mountain gorges into this flourishing valley; and he is struck with wonder at the immense results, produced in so short a time, by a handful of individuals.

This is the result of the guidance of all those hands by one master mind; and we see a comfortable people residing where, it is not too much to say, the ordinary mode of subduing and settling our wild lands could never have been applied.

Nothing can exceed the appearance of prosperity, peaceful harmony, and cheerful contentment that pervaded the whole community. Ever since the first year of privation provisions have been abundant, and want of the necessaries and even comforts of life is a thing unknown. A design was at one time entertained (more, I believe, as a prospective measure than anything else) to set apart a fund for the purpose of erecting a poor-house; but, after strict inquiry it was found that there were in the whole population but two persons who could be considered objects of public charity, and the plan was consequently abandoned.

This happy external state of universally diffused prosperity, is commented on by themselves as an evidence of the smiles of heaven, and of the special favor of the deity; but I think it may be most clearly accounted for in the admirable discipline and ready obedience of a large body of industrious and intelligent men, and in the wise counsels of prudent and sagacious leaders, producing a oneness and concentration of action, the result of which has astonished even those by whom it has been effected. The happy consequences of this system of united and well-directed action, under one leading and controling mind, is most prominently apparent in the erection of public buildings, opening of roads, the construction of bridges, and the preparation of the country for the speedy occupation of a large and rapidly growing population, shortly to be still further augmented by an immigration even now on its way, from almost every country in Europe.

The masses are sincere in their belief: if they are credulous, and have been deceived by their leaders, the sin, if any, rests on them. I firmly believe the people to be honest, and imbued with true religious feelings; and when we take into consideration their general character previously, we cannot but believe in their sincerity. Nine-tenths of this vast population are the peasantry of Scotland, England and Wales, originally brought up with religious teaching at Protestant parish churches. They place implicit faith in their leaders, who, in a pecuniary point of view, have fulfilled their promise; each and all of them are comfortably provided with land and tenements. At first they, of course, suffer privation, until they build their houses, and reap their crops, yet all their necessities in the meantime are provided for by the Church, and in a social point of view they are much happier than they could ever hope to have been at their native homes. From being tenants at the will of an imperious and exacting landlord, they suddenly become landholders in their own right, free men, living on free soil, under a free and enlightened Government.

Considering, again, how all efforts for the improvement of these advantages must necessarily be self-dependent in such a place, one cannot say they have been tardily developed. Indeed, to me, the manufactures, few as they were, and the products and settlements sprung up so extensively in so short a time, spoke not of a sensual but of a thrifty and industrious population, who, whatever may be their delusions in matters of belief, or the corrupting influence of their customs, at least determined to put their hands to the plow, and, looking forward, to work, out of hardship and adversity, a comfortable, if not an enviable, prosperity. Observe Salt Lake City—not a San Francisco, certainly—but remember that eight years ago not a house stood here, nor a stick, nor a stone to build one of.

The cheerful happy faces, the self-satisfied countenances, the cordial salutation of brother or sister on all occasions of address, the lively strains of music pouring forth from merry hearts in every domicile, as women and children sing their "Songs of Zion," while plying the domestic tasks, give an expression of a happy society in the vales of Deseret.

It certainly argued a high tone of morals, and an habitual observance of good order and decorum, to find women and children thus securely slumbering in the midst of a large city, with no protection from midnight molestation other than a wagon-cover of linen, and the ægis of the law. In the very next enclosure to that occupied by our party, a whole family of children had no other shelter than one of these wagons, where they slept all the winter, literally out of doors, there being no communication whatever with the inside of their parents' house.

All goods brought into the city pay, as the price of a license, a duty of one per cent., except spirituous liquors, for which one half of the price at which they are sold is demanded; the object of this last impost being avowedly to discourage the introduction of that article among them. It has, indeed, operated to a great extent as a prohibition, the importer, to save himself from loss, having to double the price at which he could otherwise afford to sell. The result of this policy was, when we were there, to bring up the price of brandy to twelve dollars per gallon, of which the authorities took six, and whisky to eight dollars, of which they collected four dollars.

They have determined to keep themselves distinct from the vices of civilization. During a residence of ten weeks in Great Salt Lake City, and my observations in all their various settlements, amongst a homogeneous population of over seventy-five thousand inhabitants, it is worthy of record that I never heard any obscene or improper language, never saw a man drunk, never had my attention called to the exhibition of vice of any sort. There are no gambling houses, grog shops, or houses of ill fame in all their settlements. They preach morality in their churches and from their stands, and, what is as strange as it is true, the people practice it, and religiously believe their salvation depends on fulfilling the behests of the religion they have adopted.

A liquor law enforced pretty strictly, compels sobriety, which virtue is, therefore, no subject for praise. Swearing, at least blasphemous swearing, in the public streets, is prohibited under pain of a five-dollar fine for each offence; the fine is scarcely ever imposed, but violation of the law is uncommon, and very rarely in public or private do you hear an oath. Theft, even in petty things, such as vegetables or fuel, is prevented, not by prosecution, but by the known rule, that if a man steals two or three times he is ordered to become honest or leave the country for good. Not that Mormons ever pretend there are no bad men among them; nay, agreeable to their principles, they will tell you that a Mormon, if bad, will be worse than other men, because he sins against greater light and knowledge, and after receiving the Spirit of God. Confirmatory of this, I have met at Salt Lake with two or three very proper scoundrels; but, taking the people all around, I consider them as moral, industrious, fair-dealing and hospitable a set as one is apt to fall in with.

In social parties and lively meetings the Mormons are pre-eminent, and their hospitality would be more readily extended to strangers had they suitable dwellings to invite them into. In their social gatherings and evening parties, patronized by the presence of the prophets and apostles, it is not unusual to open the ball with prayer, asking the blessing of God on their amusements, as well as upon any other engagement; and then will follow the most sprightly dancing, in which all join with hearty good will, from the highest dignitary to the humblest individual; and this exercise is to become part of the temple-worship, to 'praise God in song and dances.'

These private balls and soirees are frequently extended beyond the time of cock-crowing by the younger members, and the remains of the evening repast furnish the breakfast for the jovial guests.

Toward the end of April, 1854, about ten days previous to the departure of Governor Brigham Young, on his annual visit to the southern settlements of Utah, tickets of invitation to a grand ball were issued in his name. I had the honor to receive one of them.

At the appointed hour I made my appearance, chaperoned by Governor Young, who gave me a general introduction. A larger collection of fairer and more beautiful women I never saw in one room. All of them were dressed in white muslin, some with pink and others with blue sashes. Flowers were the only ornaments in the hair. The utmost order and the strictest decorum prevailed. Polkas and waltzes were not danced; country dances, cotillions, quadrilles, &c., were permitted. At the invitation of Governor Young I opened the ball with one of his wives. The Governor, with a beautiful partner, stood *vis-a-vis*. An old-fashioned cotillion was danced with much grace by the ladies, and the Governor acquitted himself very well on the 'light fantastic toe.' After several rounds of dancing, a march was played by the band, and a procession was formed; I conducted my first partner to the supper room, where I partook of a fine entertainment at the Governor's table. There must have been at least two hundred ladies present, and about one hundred gentlemen. I returned to my quarters at twelve o'clock, most favorably impressed with the exhibition of public society among the Mormons."

These pictures, from the pens of distinguished travelers and newspaper correspondents, excellently illustrate Mormon society, from the founding of Utah to the date of the Buchanan expedition. A fitting close is presented by the following testimony of Stansbury:

"Before taking leave of the Mormon community, whose history has been the subject of no little interest in the country, I cannot but avail myself of the opportunity again to acknowledge the constant kindness and generous hospitality which has ever been extended to the party during a sojourn of rather more than a year among them. The most disinterested efforts were made to afford us, both personally and officially, all the aids and facilities within the power of the people, as well to forward our labors as to contribute to our comfort and enjoyment. Official invitations were sent by the authorities to the officers of the party engaged in distant duties on the lake, to participate in the celebration of their annual jubilee, on the 24th of July, and an honorable position was assigned them in the procession on that occasion. Upon our final departure, we were followed with the kindest expressions of regard, and of anxious hopes for the safety and welfare of the party upon its homeward journey. Though this people fled to a foreign country to enjoy the liberty that persecution denied them in the States, as soon as they found that their adopted land had come under the jurisdiction of the stars and stripes, which consummation their own valor in the army of the Pacific had helped to effect, they embraced the earliest opportunity of declaring their adherence to the great charter of liberty and national glory, and announced to the world that it was given to our patriot fathers by divine inspiration, and that they would uphold and defend it, though all the original parties should secede and trample it under foot.

They will make no law forbidden by the sacred constitution of the United States, and they predict that the day is not far distant when they will be solicited by patriotic American citizens to descend from their rocky fastnesses to enforce its provisions among those led astray by frantic political delusion."

# CHAPTER XIV.

VIEWS OF BRIGHAM YOUNG AS GOVERNOR. CORRESPONDENCE OF COLONEL KANE WITH PRESIDENT FILLMORE. ARRIVAL OF COLONEL STEPTOE AND HIS REGIMENT. PRESIDENT PIERCE TENDERS THE GOVERNORSHIP OF UTAH TO STEPTOE: HE REFUSES AND PETITIONS THE PRESIDENT FOR THE RE-APPOINTMENT OF BRIGHAM YOUNG. PIERCE RE-APPOINTS HIM.

Captain Stansbury, in his official report to the government, giving his views and testimony relative to Brigham, both as the leader of the Mormon people and the Governor of Utah, says:

"Upon the personal character of the leader of this singular people, it may not, perhaps, be proper for me to comment in a communication like the present. I may, nevertheless, be pardoned for saying, that to me, President Young appeared to be a man of clear, sound sense, fully alive to the responsibilities of the station he occupies, sincerely devoted to the good name of the people over whom he presides, sensitively jealous of the least attempt to under-value or misrepresent them, and indefatigable in devising ways and means for their moral, mental, and physical elevation. He appeared to possess the unlimited personal and official confidence of his people; while both he and his councilors, forming the Presidency of the Church, seem to have but one object in view, the prosperity and peace of the Society over which they preside.

Upon the action of the Executive in the appointment of the officers within the newly-created Territory, it does not become me to offer other than a very diffident opinion. Yet the opportunities of information to which allusion has already been made, may perhaps justify me in presenting the result of my own observations upon this subject. With all due deference, then, I feel constrained to say, that in my opinion the appointment of the President of the Mormon Church, and the head of the Mormon community, in preference to any other person, to the high office of Governor of the Territory, independent of its political bearings, with which I have nothing to do, was a measure dictated alike by justice and by sound policy. Intimately connected with them from their exodus from Illinois, this man has been indeed their Moses, leading them through the wilderness to a remote and unknown land, where they have since set up their tabernacle, and where they are now building their temple. Resolute in danger, firm and sagacious in council, prompt and energetic in emergency, and enthusiastically devoted to the honor of his people, he had won their unlimited confidence, esteem and veneration, and held an unrivaled place in their hearts. Upon the establishment of the provisional government, he had been unanimously chosen as their highest civil magistrate, and even before his appointment by the President, he combined in his own person the triple character of confidential adviser, temporal ruler, and prophet of God. Intimately acquainted with their character, capacities, wants, and weaknesses; identified now with their prosperity, as he had formerly shared to the full in their adversities and sorrows; honored, trusted,—the whole wealth of the community placed in his hands, for the advancement both of the spiritual and temporal interest of the infant settlement, he was, surely, of all others, the man best fitted to preside, under the auspices of the general government, over a colony of which he may justly be said to have been the founder. No other man could have so entirely secured the confidence of the people; and the selection by the Executive of the man of their choice, besides being highly gratifying to them, is recognized as an assurance that they shall hereafter receive at the hands of the general government that justice and consideration to which they are entitled. Their confident hope now is that, no longer fugitives and outlaws, but dwelling beneath the broad shadow of the national ægis, they will be subject no more to the violence and outrage which drove them to seek a secure habitation in this far distant wilderness."

Chief Justice Reed, shortly after his arrival in Utah, wrote as follows:

"I waited on His Excellency, Governor Young, exhibited to him my commission, and by him was duly sworn and installed as Chief Justice of Utah. I was received by Governor Young with marked courtesy and respect. He has taken pains to make my residence here agreeable. The Governor, in manners and conversation, is a polished gentleman. very neat and tasty in dress, easy and pleasant in conversation, and I think a man of decided talent and strong intellectual qualities. In person he very strongly resembles our deceased fellow citizen, W. W. McCay. I have heard him address the people once on the subject of man's free agency. He is a very excellent speaker. His gesture uncommonly graceful, articulation distinct, and speech pleasant. His voice resembles very much Judge Hiram Gray, of Elmira. I was extremely edified by his address and manner. The Governor is a first-rate business man. As civil Governor of the Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, we would naturally suppose he had as much to do as one man could well attend to; but in addition to those employments, he is also President of the Church—a station which is no sinecure by any means. His private business is extensive; he owns several grist and saw mills, is extensively engaged in farming operations, all of which he superintends personally. I have made up my mind that no man has been more grossly misrepresented than Governor Young, and that he is a man who will reciprocate kindness and good intentions as heartily and as freely as any one, but if abused, or crowded hard, I think he may be found exceedingly hard to handle."

Under date of July 11th, 1851, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, then residing in Philadelphia, addressed the following to President Fillmore:

"My Dear Sir: I have no wish to evade the responsibility of having vouched for the character of Brigham Young, of Utah, and his fitness for the station he now occupies. I reiterate, without reserve, the statement of his excellent capacity, energy and integrity, which I made you prior to his appointment. I am willing to say I volunteered to communicate to you the facts by which I was convinced of his patriotism and devotion to the interest of the Union. I made no qualification when I assured you of his irreproachable moral character, because I was able to speak of this from my own intimate personal knowledge.

I have not yet heard a single charge against them as a community, against their habitual purity of life, their integrity of dealing, their toleration of differences of religious opinions, their regard for the laws, or their devotion to the constitutional government under which we live, that I do not, from my own observation, or the testimony of others, know to be unfounded. * * *. Can charges which are so commonly and so circumstantially laid, be without any foundation at all? I know it. Upon my return from the prairie, I met through the settlements scandalous stories against the President of the sect, which dated of the precise period when I myself was best acquainted with his self-denying and blameless life. I had an experience no less satisfactory with regard to other falsehoods, some of them the most extravagant and most widely believed. During the sickness I have referred to, I was nursed by a dear lady, well connected in New York and New Jersey, whom I sufficiently name to many by stating that she was the first cousin of one of our most respected citizens, whose conduct as chief magistrate of Philadelphia, in an excited time, won for him our general esteem. In her exile she found her severest sufferings in the belief that her friends in the States looked upon her as an irreclaimable outcast. It was one of the first duties I performed on my return, to enlighten them as to her true position, and the character of her exemplary husband; and the knowledge of this fact arrived in time, I believe, to be of comfort to her before she sank under the privation and hardships of the march her frame was too delicate to endure."

To this may be added Colonel Kane's testimony of the Mormons as a people: he said, upon the delivery of his famous discourse before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

"I have been annoyed by comments this hastily written discourse has elicited; well-meaning friends have even invited me to tone down its remarks in favor of the Mormons, for the purpose of securing them a readier acceptance.

I can only make them more express. The truth must take care of itself. I not only meant to deny that the Mormons, in any wise, fall below our standard of morals, but I would be distinctly understood to ascribe to those of their number with whom I associated in the West, a general correctness of deportment and purity of character above the average of ordinary communities.

It is observed to me, with a vile meaning, that I have said little about the Mormon women. I have scarcely alluded to them, because my memories of them are such that I cannot think of their character as a theme for discussion. In one word, it was eminently that for which Americans dignify the names of mother, wife, and sister. Of the self-denying generosity, which went to enoble the whole people in my eyes, I witnessed among them the highest illustrations. I have seen the ideal charity of the statue gallery surpassed by the young Mormon mother, who shared with the stranger's orphan the breast of milk of her own child."

In 1854, Lieut.-Col. E. J. Steptoe, with his command, arrived in Salt Lake City, and the term of Governor Young's appointment expiring about this time, President Pierce tendered the office to Col. Steptoe; but he was a gentleman, and a true Republican, and he had too much wisdom withal to accept the honor, for he knew that Brigham was the choice of the people. The following document, expressive of the movement which he inspired, will be of interest at this point:

*To His Excellency, Franklin Pierce, President of the United States:*

Your petitioners would respectfully represent that, whereas Governor Brigham Young possesses the entire confidence of the people of this Territory, without distinction of party or sect; and from personal acquaintance and social intercourse we find him to be a firm supporter of the constitution and laws of the United States, and a tried pillar of Republican institutions; and having repeatedly listened to his remarks, in private as well as in public assemblies, do know he is the warm friend and able supporter of constitutional liberty, the rumors published in the States notwithstanding; and having canvassed to our satisfaction his doings as Governor, and Superintendent of Indian affairs, and also the disposition of the appropriation for public buildings for the Territory; we do most cordially and cheerfully represent that the same has been expended to the best interest of the nation; and whereas his re-appointment would subserve the Territorial interest better than the appointment of any other man, and would meet with the gratitude of the entire inhabitants of the Territory, and his removal would cause the deepest feeling of sorrow and regret; and it being our unqualified opinion, based upon the personal acquaintance which we have formed with Governor Young, and from our observation of the results of his influence and administration in this Territory, that he possess in an eminent degree every qualification necessary for the discharge of his official duties, and unquestioned integrity and ability, that he is decidedly the most suitable person that can be selected for that office.

We therefore take pleasure in recommending him to your favorable consideration, and do earnestly request his re-appointment as Governor, and Superintendent of Indian affairs for this Territory.

This document was signed by Col. Steptoe and every other U. S. Army officer in the Territory, as well as by all of the Federal civil officials, and by every merchant and prominent citizen of Salt Lake City. President Pierce accordingly re-appointed Governor Young.

# CHAPTER XV.

THE NATIONAL MISSION OF THE MORMONS. THEIR ISRAELITISH GENIUS AND DESTINY. THEY BELIEVE IN THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO FOUND A STATE OF THE UNION. A VIEW PREPARATORY TO THE "UTAH WAR."

Distasteful as the fact may be, the United States Government has been worsted in its conflict with Mormonism. There has been no parallel case since ancient Israel arose to perplex the gentile world with prophecies of a rival destiny and an extraordinary career under a Divine leadership. That Israelitish nationality was, indeed, a peculiar nationality. It was the very prototype of Mormon genius; in fact it has had no strict antetype but in the rise, progress and history of the Mormon people.

Israel was, from its birth, unlike all other nations. It was cradled in the heart of an old empire; a national destiny was nascent within it; a transcendent blessing was upon its head. Ever was it the peculiar nation—a kingdom within a kingdom; its empire the whole world; its God unlike all other gods; its genius as extraordinary as it was distinctive.

And now, here, in modern times, appears another

Israel—the Mormon Israel. He is no accident, but a Divine intending. He blunders not into his destiny, even in his ignorance; he is not unshaped even in his primitive simplicity. He claims his destiny at his birth; he (arrogantly, if you please,) asserts his national mission to all the world, and especially to all America. All that the historian knows to be true of ancient Israel, the imagination may affirm of the Mormon Israel; and, what the latter seems to lack in his race example, he makes up in his mystical claim of being the literal seed of Abraham, mixed among the nations to fulfill a providential design.

Meeting a possible issue in the most practical sense, it is fair to claim for the Mormons that they are not mere church-builders, but the founders of a new empire; not a mere sect, but a nation; having a distinctive providence and an inevitable destiny. While in Missouri and Illinois, their desire to found a commonwealth could, with some consistency, be denied, but in Utah the case was changed. They undoubtedly had the constitutional right, if as a people they had the social force and capacity, to there found a State with all the functions of self-government. Nor is this condition of *imperium in imperio* an anomaly in America, so long as it has a republican meaning. Our Republic is many nations within one grand confederation, and that, too, in so broad a sense as to permit the multiplication and subdivision of its members.

Born, then, in a newly-created republican empire, whose very destiny and enlargement grows out of its condition of generation, the Mormon believes he has the natural privilege to beget one of the family of States. To found a State is, indeed, his privilege, but he believes it is also his mission; yet is his mission based upon the idea of a republican confederation, and not upon that of an independent kingdom. Those who have understood his theocracy in any other sense have misconceived it sadly. He is simply an apostle of a republican nationality, manifold in its genius; or, in popular words, he is the chief apostle of State rights, *by Divine appointment.* He has the mission, he affirms, and has been endowed with the inspiration to preach the gospel of a true democracy to the nation, as well as the gospel for the remission of sins, and he believes the United States will ultimately need his ministration in both respects.

And the Mormon reconciles his national mission in the union of States, constitutionally, and with historical consistency. In the most practical language, he will tell you that the Lord, in times past, in the heart of old empires and nations, was not able to establish Divine government; but that in this age, in a vast and virgin country like the United States, the Lord found the opportunity. To fulfill his purpose, he inspired the fathers of this nation, in the framing of the constitution; and in due time he raised up the Mormon people to evolve an apostolic commonwealth and leaven the Union. They form not, therefore, a rival power as against the Union, but an apostolic ministry to it, and their political gospel is State rights and self-government. This is political Mormonism in a nutshell.

Urged on by politicians, and stimulated by the anti-Mormon jealousies of the country, President Buchanan affirmed by all the preliminary action and intention of war, that the Mormon commonwealth should not be allowed to fulfill the destiny that was marked out in the mission of the great American prophet. Nor is it strange that America should object to the Divine leadership of modern Israel; yet if the Mormons knew "the Divine call" to be thus apostolic to the whole confederation, there is nothing in the genius of our Republic, nor in the purview of the national compact, to make that mission inconsistent. So long as one State does not make war upon a sister State, nor antagonize the covenant of the Union, but, on the contrary, seeks to be as an apostolic minister, glorifying the nation in her examples of a civilization suited to the providential impulses of the age, such a State would certainly have the constitutional privilege so to do. Indeed, is not the very existence and growth of the American Republic prophetic of a new civilization and a national mission such as the Mormon people affirm? The elders have believed so; and Brigham Young, in behalf of his people, has, in an unmistakable record, proclaimed to the world that the Mormons shall fulfill their mission, with or without the consent of the United States. This is the whole burden of the history.

Great as Brigham Young was in the exodus of this people from their Egypt, his power seems to have found its culmination in the Utah war. Not only did he then show himself to be equal to the leadership of a people, but abundantly able to grapple with the most gigantic besetments. Intelligent readers will also note the fact that, in every stage and phase of the history of the Mormons, from the time they numbered but six members, to this very moment, their every crisis has given to them an enlarged outcoming and a more world-wide name.

# CHAPTER XVI.

THE PIONEER JUBILEE. CELEBRATION OF THEIR TENTH ANNIVERSARY. ARRIVAL OF MESSENGERS WITH THE NEWS OF THE COMING OF AN INVADING ARMY. THE DAY OF JUBILEE CHANGED TO A DAY OF INDEPENDENCE.

The people were celebrating the twenty-fourth of July—the anniversary of the pioneers—in Big Cottonwood Canyon, when the news reached them of the coming of the troops to invade their homes.

They had conquered the desert. Cities were fast springing up in the solitary places, where cities had never been planted before, and in valleys that had once been the bed of the great sea, civilization was spreading.

A plentiful harvest was promised that year, and every circumstance of their situation seemed favorable, except the lack of postal communication with the East. Their isolation, in this particular, had kept them in ignorance, up to that time, of the movements of the Government concerning them.

On the 22d of July, 1857, numerous teams were seen wending their way, by different routes, to the mouth of Big Cottonwood Canyon, where they halted for the night. Next morning Governor Young led the van of the long line of carriages and wagons, and before noon the cavalcade reached the camp ground at the Cottonwood Lake, which nestles in the bosom of the mountain, 8,000 feet above the level of the sea. Early in the afternoon, the company, numbering 2,587 persons, encamped, and soon all were busy with the arrangements for the morrow. It will be seen, at a glance, that this was intended to be a pioneer's jubilee indeed; not in a city, but in primitive surroundings, suggestive of their entrance into these valleys ten years before.

There were in attendance: Captain Ballo's band, the Nauvoo brass band, the Ogden City brass band, and the Great Salt Lake City and Ogden martial bands; also, of the military, the 1st company of light artillery, under Adjutant-General James Ferguson; a detachment of four platoons of life guards and one platoon of the lancers, under Colonel Burton; and one company of light infantry, under Captain John W. Young. Colonel J. C. Little was marshal of the day.

Early on the following morning the people assembled, and the choir sang:

"On the mountain tops appearing."

Then, after prayers, the stars and stripes were unfurled on the two highest peaks, in sight of the camp, on two of the tallest trees. At 20 minutes past nine A. M., three rounds from the artillery saluted the First Presidency, and at a quarter past ten three rounds were given for the "Hope of Israel." Captain John W. Young, with his company of light infantry, answered to this last salute, and went through their military evolutions to the admiration of the beholders. This company numbered fifty boys, at about the age of twelve, who had been uniformed by Governor Young.

At noon, Bishop A. O. Smoot, Elder Judson Stoddard, Judge Elias Smith, and O. P. Rockwell, rode into camp, the two former from the "States" (Missouri River), in twenty days. They brought news of the coming of the troops. It was the first tidings of war. Any other people in the world would have been stricken with a terrible fear; but not so these Mormon Saints. The well-known war cry of Cromwell, when he entered into battle, "The Lord of Hosts is with us!" was the undaunted exclamation of every heart, and soon it was the burden of every speech.

In a moment the festive song was changed to the theme of war; the jubilee of a people swelled into a sublime declaration of independence. Never before did such a spirit of heroism so suddenly and completely possess an entire community. Men and women shared it alike. Brigham was among them like an archangel of God. As a Moses he had led modern Israel in their exodus; like a David he was now called to deliver them from the overwhelming hosts that the United States could marshal against them.

To say that the Mormons were taken with astonishment would be to misstate the case. They had long looked for this issue. They had seen mobs marshaled against them from the beginning, but they had also been told by the Prophet Joseph, early in his career, that "Some day they would see "the United States come against them in war, and "that the Lord should deliver them and bring glory "to His name." Nothing more unlikely could have been uttered by this prophet of a few hundred disciples; as likely was it that the stars of heaven should make war upon the earth in impotent wrath. They were not even in a location at that time where this was possible. The very prophecy foreshadowed their removal to the mountains, as though to invite the nation to the issue; and its fulfillment bespoke a destiny in them superior to the destiny even of the United States. The nation was now coming against them, to verify the prophecy in the most literal manner. Hence, doubtless, the extraordinary trust and fortitude of the people, and the self-possession of their leaders. They had no doubt as to the issue, though how God would work out their deliverance they saw not fully.

Everything the Mormons did at that time was done in the most deliberate earnestness. Two messengers were immediately dispatched to England, to call home the American elders in Europe, and ten thousand British Saints would have gathered that year, had it been possible, to share the fate of their brethren and sisters in the mountains; but all emigration was, of course, now cut off. Never was there so much enthusiasm in the foreign missions as then. One could judge of the sublime enthusiasm at home by that which animated the Saints abroad. Yet they saw a mighty nation moving against the handful in the mountains, and moving with a settled resolve to annihilate the Mormon power at once and forever, leaving no seed on American territory from which that power might re-germinate. The papers of America and Europe teemed with these anticipations. It was broadly suggested that volunteers from every State should pour into Utah, make short work of the Saints, possess their cities, fill their Territory with a gentile population, and take their wives and daughters as spoil, thus breaking up the polygamic institution. For a time there was a prospect of this. Tens of thousands were eager for this thorough work of regeneration for Utah; and, had the Government dared to encourage it, the attempt would have been made. For such a crusade, however, a civilized judgment could have found no excuse, not even on the plea of rebellion. At least, President Buchanan was made to see this much, and to appreciate that he could only use United States regular troops, and these only in the guise of a *posse comitatus* to the new Governor.

That Brigham Young could have been "as serene as a Summer's day," under such circumstances, is one of the marvels of history, and one of the marvels of character. But he meant war with the United States after his own Mosaic methods. He knew from the first that he had the President of the United States at his mercy. His affirmation that he should "whip" their armies if they came against him was no rebellious utterance, but a simple statement of what was coming to pass. He understood himself, and understood his people, and knew that they also understood him.

The man resolved on an exodus again, if the need came, and resolved to leave Utah in ashes—a desolation that would have damned, in history, the conduct of a great and once exemplary Republic.

Nor was he a mere copyist of the Moses of Israel, or the Alexander of Russia. Exoduses had been forced upon him. They came as the natural methods of his life. He had become a master of them, and was learned in their results. The heroic resolve would have started into the man's brain and purposed action, even though no blazing Moscow had confirmed the genius of the Russian Emperor.

And Brigham and his people were justified in such a method of warfare against the United States. No matter how good the claim had been of Louis XIV to any part of the Netherlands, or the plausible right of a greater power to subdue a lesser one, all our sympathies go out to William of Orange and his Dutch. When the young Dutch hero pulled up the dykes and submerged Holland, he conquered both France and Spain. Luxemburg, Conde and Louis himself were beaten, very much as Brigham beat Colonel Alexander, General Johnston and President Buchanan. And when a leader is found great enough, and a people devoted and heroic enough, to rise to such examples, the historian must justify them, for posterity will surely do as much. Thus will the Mormons be justified for what they did in the "Utah war."

# CHAPTER XVII.

THE UTAH EXPEDITION. MAD POLICY OF BUCHANAN IN SENDING AN ARMY BEFORE A COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION. THE PRIESTS AND JOURNALISTS OF AMERICA AND GREAT BRITAIN EXULTANT OVER THE PROSPECT OF THE EXTINCTION OF THE MORMONS. THE TWO GOVERNORS. HOW BRIGHAM MET THE ISSUE. THE SAINTS RESOLVE TO LAY THEIR CITIES WASTE AND TAKE REFUGE IN THE MOUNTAINS. ARRIVAL OF CAPTAIN VAN VLIET. THE MORMON LEADER SENDS A RIGHTEOUS DEFIANCE AND REBUKE TO THE GOVERNMENT. GOVERNOR YOUNG PROCLAIMS TO THE PEOPLE THAT THEY ARE UNLAWFULLY INVADED, AND PLACES THE TERRITORY UNDER MARTIAL LAW. HIS LAST MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATURE.

Apart from all considerations of justice, nothing could have been more impolitic, in "solving the Mormon problem," than for the Administration to conclude that Utah was in rebellion, before a commission of investigation had so determined; and evidently any subsequent event, growing out of a war movement on the part of the Government at that time, could not militate against the previous good intentions and loyalty of the people; and nothing could have been more illogical than to assume that the Mormons had rejected a Governor before that Governor had been sent to them, or even appointed; yet the Utah expedition was projected and in process of organization for actual war before Governor Cumming received his appointment. The pretence for such action was furnished by Associate-Justice Drummond, who reported that some Mormons had burned the government records. It was also reported that Brigham Young had declared that he was, and would continue to be, the Governor of the Mormons, the Government of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding. The sequel proved that the records were not burned, but were in careful preservation, and that the new Governor was loyally received; and it can be further maintained that from first to last he enjoyed the most satisfactory relations with the Mormons.

The whole affair of the Utah expeditition shows upon its face, from the inception, not that the Mormons were in rebellion, but that the Government, desirous of grappling with this "peculiar people," assumed as much, on purpose to force them into that attitude. The first question seems to have been, "Will Brigham Young fight?" It was the very question put, in later years, in those exact words, by Vice-President Colfax, and which was the practical commencement of General Grant's crusade against the Mormons. Of course the answer in Buchanan's time was that Brigham Young would fight. The Mormons could do nothing else, unless they tamely consented to give up their religious institutions, or remove from American territory.

The former they could not do; the latter they would not. But it was thought by the aggressors that in any case an easy conquest would be made, and that the cost to the United States would have its compensation. A Territory with the basework of a hundred and fifty cities already laid would be deserted by the Mormons; the mineral backbone of the continent would be left for the Gentiles, and "civilization"—heaven save the mark!—would be rid of the Mormons and Mormonism forever. Hence the Utah expedition!

Such views and speculations (as stated in the preceding chapter), some of them of the wildest and most inhuman kind, found eager expression in the newspapers of this country and Great Britain, and were pronounced from a thousand American pulpits. Extermination was seriously contemplated, and a very popular view was, that the unmarried soldiers should, on the conquest, take the Mormon wives and daughters as spoil.

Notwithstanding the final abortive termination of that expedition, productive only of disaster to its members, and of humiliation to the nation, nothing could have been more popular, at first, than was the Buchanan movement against the Mormons. But deserved failure came, and the Administration was covered with shame.

The action of Governor Young and the Mormons, judged by the facts, is seen to be the legitimate result of sufficient cause. Such also must be the conclusion with regard to the action of the Indians, whose untutored and revengeful natures were exercised to a high pitch, by the marching of troops across the plains to make war upon the Mormons. The *opportunity* was given them, *by the United States Government*, for vengeance upon the whites. And let it not be forgotten that this expedition was placed under the command of General Harney, more familiarly known, because of his Indian butcheries, as the "Squaw Killer." The effect upon the Indians of this "Mormon war," and the appointment of the "Squaw Killer" General, can well be imagined. Nor need we leave it to imagination alone, for there were substantial and terrible results. No sooner had the expedition started than delegations of chiefs and noted Indian warriors came, from every direction, to offer to Governor Young their services and the alliance of their tribes. They came from the Colorado, from the Missouri, from the Columbia, from the Platte, from Nevada; and, had they been encouraged by Governor Young, would surely have gathered, with their forces, from every part of America, and struck for a common vengeance. It must not be forgotten that the Book of Mormon is professedly the history of the aborigines of this continent; that the Indians know of this; that thousands of them indeed believe that book to be the sacred legacy of their forefathers. Couple with this the fact that since the exodus of the Mormons from Nauvoo, and their sojourn with the Indians in the wilderness, the red men have looked upon them as their brothers—like themselves, intolerably wronged and outraged, yet long suffering—and it is certain that an alliance between the Mormons and the Indian tribes, all over the continent, would have been as strong and natural as it would have been formidable.

In this war of extermination upon the Mormons, the Indians recognized a distinct premonition of their own doom, and hence their vengeful desire for an alliance with Brigham Young and his people. But at this juncture Brigham Young desired above most things that the Indians should keep the peace, and quietly await the development of results. These, therefore, were not the instruments he required at that critical moment. He could control his own people in their supremest wrath, and under a madness of wrongs such as probably no other people in the world could have borne with control (the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith proves this); but had those Indian tribes been once set on their work of slaughter and desolation, nothing could have stayed their hands; they, or their enemies must have perished utterly. That was the only view which they were sensible of or capable of taking. It is singular that these significant facts should have received so little attention in connection with the investigation of the Mountain Meadow massacre. Is it because those who did so much to create and inspire that condition of things, appreciate that in coming to the just view, *they take upon their own shoulders* the responsibility of that awful deed?

"Go home," said Brigham Young to those delegations of Indian chiefs, "and live in peace with the "whites, and live in peace with each other. The "Lord—the Great Spirit—will fight the battles of "the Mormons, and fight the battles of the Indians, "if you will all go home and live in peace with one "another, and let the whites alone."

Had a desolating war upon his people once fairly begun, Brigham Young would have counseled the Indians differently. Imagine the two hundred cities and settlements of Utah in ashes, and those desert valleys, which had been made to blossom as the rose, baptized in blood; imagine the women and children hidden in the caves and canyons of the mountains; imagine a guerrilla army of ten thousand brave men, righteously fulfilling their mission of vengeance! Then let fancy complete the picture by bringing all the Indian warriors of the continent into an alliance with the Mormons! Had there been thereafter a thousand Mountain Meadow massacres by the Indians, the people of the United States would have simply taken the consequences of their own conduct. The Government that instigated the war, the priests and editors who inspired it, and the people who sanctioned it would have been guilty of those massacres—not Brigham Young and the Mormons.

The sentiments that actuated the Mormon community at that time were of no doubtful tenor, as may be judged by the following extracts from Brigham's discourses to his people:

"Liars have reported that this people have com-
"mitted treason, and upon their misrepresentations
"the President has ordered out troops to aid in
"officering this Territory. If those officers are like
"many who have previously been sent here—and
"we have reason to believe that they are, or they
"would not come were they know they are not
"wanted—they are poor, broken down political
"hacks, not fit for the civilized society whence they

"came, and so they are dragooned upon us for "officers. I feel that I won't bear such treatment "(and that is enough to say), for we are just as free "as the mountain air. * * * This people are "free; they are not in bondage to any Government "on God's footstool. We have transgressed no "law, neither do we intend so to do; but as for any "nation coming to destroy this people, God Almighty being my helper, it shall not be! * * * "We have borne enough of their oppression and "abuse, and we will not bear any more of it, for "there is no just law requiring further forbearance "on our part. And I am not going to permit "troops here for the protection of the priests and "the rabble in their efforts to drive us from the "land we possess. The Lord does not want us to "be driven, for He has said, 'If you will assert "'your rights, and keep my commandments, you "'shall never again be brought into bondage by "'your enemies.' * * * They say that the "coming of their army is legal; and I say that it is "not; they who say it are morally rotten. Come "on with your thousands of illegally-ordered troops, "and I promise you, in the name of Israel's God, "that they shall melt away as the snow before a "July sun. * * * You might as well tell me "that you can make hell into a powder-house as to "tell me that they intend to keep an army here and "have peace! * * * I have told you that if "this people will live their religion all will be well; "and I have told you that if there is any man or "woman who is not willing to destroy everything "of their property that would be of use to an "enemy if left, I would advise them to leave the "Territory. And I again say so to-day; for when "the time comes to burn and lay waste our improvements, if any man undertakes to shield his "he will be treated as a traitor; for 'judgment will "'be laid to the line, and righteousness to the "'plummet.' * * * Now the faint-hearted can "go in peace; but should that time come, they "must not interfere. Before I will again suffer as I "have in times gone by there shall not one building, nor one foot of lumber, nor a fence, nor a "tree, nor a particle of grass or hay, that will burn, "be left in reach of our enemies. I am sworn, if "driven to extremity, to utterly lay waste this land "in the name of Israel's God, and our enemies "shall find it as barren as when we came here."

It was at such a moment, as the picture suggests, that Capt. Van Vliet arrived in the city of the Saints. The Governor, the Lieut.-General, Adjt.-General Ferguson, and the Apostles, received him with marked cordiality, but with an open programme. They took him into their gardens. The sisters showed him the paradise that their woman hands would destroy if that invading army came. He was awed by the prospect—his ordinary judgment confounded by such extraordinary examples. To the wife of Albert Carrington, in whose garden he was walking, in conversation with the Governor and his party, he exclaimed:

"What, madam! would you consent to see this "beautiful home in ashes and this fruitful orchard "destroyed?"

"Yes!" answered Sister Carrington, with heroic resolution, "I would not only consent to it, but I "would set fire to my home with my own hands, "and cut down every tree and root up every "plant!"

Captain Van Vliet thus reported to the commanding general of the army:

> "He (Governor Young) stated that the Mormons had been persecuted, murdered and robbed in Missouri and Illinois, by the mob and the State authorities, and that now the United States were about to pursue the same course, and that, therefore, he and the people of Utah had determined to resist all persecution at the commencement, and that the troops now on the march for Utah should not enter the Salt Lake valley. As he uttered these words all there present concurred most heartily in what he said. * * * In the course of my conversation with the Governor, and the influential men in the Territory, I told them plainly and frankly what I conceived would be the result of their present course. I told them that they might prevent the small military force now approaching Utah from getting through the narrow defiles and rugged passes of the mountains this year, but that next season the United States Government would send troops sufficient to overcome all opposition. The answer to this was invariably the same: 'We are aware that such will be the case, but when those troops arrive, they will find Utah a desert, every house will be burned to the ground, every tree cut down, and every field laid waste. We have provisions on hand for years to come, which we will cache, and then take to the mountains, and bid defiance to all the powers of the Government.'
>
> I attended their service on Sunday, and in the course of a sermon delivered by Elder Taylor, he referred to the approach of the troops, and declared

they should not enter the Territory. He then referred to the probability of an overpowering force being sent against them, and desired all present who would apply the torch to their own buildings, cut down their trees, and lay waste their fields, to hold up their hands—every hand, in an audience numbering over four thousand persons, was raised at the same moment."

The following extracts from conversations between Governor Young and Captain Van Vliet, on the 12th and 13th of August, 1857, will be of interest, inasmuch as they were had previous to the receipt, in Salt Lake City, of the news of the Mountain Meadow massacre. Although now for the first time given to the public, their accuracy may be relied on, as they are transcribed from Apostle Woodruff's private journal, and were originally recorded within a few hours of their occurrence, and are amply verified by many persons then present:

*President Young:*—We do not want to fight the United States, but if they drive us to it, we shall do the best we can; and I will tell you, as the Lord lives, we shall come off conquerors, for we trust in Him. * * * God has set up his kingdom on the earth, and it will never fall. * * * We shall do all we can to avert a collision, but if they drive us to it, God will overthrow them. If they would let us alone and say to the mobs: 'Now you may go and kill the Mormons if you can, but we will have nothing to do with it,' that would be all we would ask of them; but for the Government to array the army against us, is too despicable and damnable a thing for any honorable nation to do; and God will hold them in derision who do it. * * * The United States are sending their armies here to simply hold us still until a mob can come and butcher us, as has been done before. * * * We are the supporters of the constitution of the United States, and we love that constitution and respect the laws of the United States; but it is by the corrupt administration of those laws that we are made to suffer. If the law had been vindicated in Missouri, it would have sent Governor Boggs to the gallows, along with those who murdered Joseph and Hyrum, and those other fiends who accomplished our expulsion from the States. * * * Most of the Government officers who have been sent here have taken no interest in us, but, on the contrary, have tried many times to destroy us.

*Capt. Van Vliet:*—This is the case with most men sent to the Territories. They receive their offices as a political reward, or as a stepping-stone to the Senatorship; but they have no interest in common with the people. * * * This people has been lied about the worst of any people I ever saw. * * * The greatest hold that the Government now has upon you is in the accusation that you have burned the United States records.

*President Young:*—I deny that any books of the United States have been burned! All I ask of any man is, that he tell the truth about us, pay his debts and not steal, and then he will be welcome to come or go as he likes. * * * If the Government has arrived at that state that it will try to kill this people because of their religion, *no honorable man should be afraid of it.* * * * We would like to ward off this blow if we can; but the United States seem determined to drive us into a fight. They will kill us if they can. A mob killed Joseph and Hyrum in jail, notwithstanding the faith of the State was pledged to protect them. * * * I have broken no law, and under the present state of affairs I will not suffer myself to be taken by any

United States officer, to be killed as they killed Joseph.

*Capt. Van Vliet:*—I do not think it is the intention of the Government to arrest you, but to install a new Governor in the Territory.

*President Young:*—I believe you tell the truth—that you believe this—but you do not know their intentions as well as I do. When you get away from here you will think of a great many things that you have seen and heard: for instance, people have accused us of colleaguing with the Indians against the Government: they were much afraid that Joseph Smith would go among the Indians, and they wanted to keep him away from them; but now they have driven us into their midst. I want you to note the signs of the times; you will see that God will chastise this nation for trying to destroy both the Indians and the Mormons. * * * If the Government persists in sending an army to destroy us, in the name of the Lord we shall conquer them. If they dare to force the issue, I shall not hold the Indians by the wrist any longer, for white men to shoot at them; they shall go ahead and do as they please. If the issue comes, you may tell the Government to stop all emigration across this continent, for the Indians will kill all who attempt it. And if an army succeeds in penetrating this valley, tell the Government to see that it has forage and provisions in store, for they will find here only a charred and barren waste.

*Captain Van Vliet:*— * * * If our Government pushes this matter to the extent of making war upon you, I will withdraw from the army, for I will not have a hand in shedding the blood of American citizens.

*President Young:*—We shall trust in God * * * Congress has promptly sent investigating committees to Kansas and other places, as occasion has required; but upon the merest rumor it has sent 2,000 armed soldiers to destroy the people of Utah, without investigating the subject at all.

*Capt. Van Vliet:*—The Government may yet send an investigating committee to Utah, and consider it good policy, before they get through.

*President Young:*—I believe God has sent you here, and that good will grow out of it. I was glad when I heard you were coming.

*Capt. Van Vliet:*—I am anxious to get back to Washington as soon as I can. I have heard officially that General Harney has been recalled to Kansas to officiate as Governor. I shall stop the train on Hams Fork, on my own responsibility.

*President Young:*—If we can keep the peace for this Winter I do think there will something turn up that may save the shedding of blood.

Now let the reader mark the points. These conversations of Governor Young with Capt. Van Vliet occurred before the news of the massacre reached Salt Lake City. Governor Young charged this officer to tell the Government that if this war of extermination against the Mormons continued, all emigration across the plains must be stopped; intimating that he had "held the wrist of the Indians" from retaliating upon the whites, and that, if it was to be war, he neither could nor would hold their wrist any longer. But mark his policy: ***It was to keep the invading army out during the Winter, hold off a battle between the troops and the Mormons, and*** PREVENT THE SHEDDING OF BLOOD. This accomplished, he believed the country would, in its sober judgment, rebuke the unrighteous war, the Government send on a commission, and the issue be reached without the shedding of blood. Van

Vliet is so strongly moved by the aspect of the case, and the heroic resolve of the entire Mormon people, that he declares he will resign his commission if the Government decides to force the issue and subject the people to the horrors of an exterminating war. He hastens back to stop the approach of the troops beyond a proper point, and to report in Washington the state of affairs. The sequel will show that he is finally instrumental in bringing the whole matter to as satisfactory an issue as was then possible, through a peace commission.

The reader cannot fail to perceive that *any* overt act—much less the terrible butchery at Mountain Meadow—was farthest from Brigham Young's *policy* at that time, to say nothing of humanitarian considerations. There can be but one just view of that melancholy event,—that it was an act of retaliation by the Indians; as it is a well-substantiated fact that that particular company of emigrants had purposely left poisoned meat at their camping places, and had also poisoned certain springs of water, thereby causing the death of several Indians. It is also a fact that the Mormons urgently counseled those emigrants to take the northern route to California, it being less likely to be infested by hostile Indians. But they stubbornly pursued their way by the southern route, and met their fate at Mountain Meadow.

But, though Governor Young was aiming for some such consummation as that which came, he neither allowed himself nor his people to retreat a step from their chosen position. Indeed, in their stern fidelity to their cause was their only safety and successful outcome. The next day after the departure of Van Vliet, the Governor issued the following proclamation, placing the Territory under martial law:

"*Citizens of Utah*:—We are invaded by a hostile force, who are evidently assailing us to accomplish our overthrow and destruction.

For the last twenty-five years we have trusted official Government, from Constables and Justices to Judges, Governors and Presidents, only to be scorned, held in derision, insulted and betrayed. Our houses have been plundered and then burned, our fields laid waste, our principal men butchered while under the pledged faith of the Government for their safety, and our families driven from their homes to find that shelter in the barren wilderness, and that protection among hostile savages which were denied them in the boasted abodes of Christianity and civilization.

The constitution of our common country guarantees to us all that we do now, or have ever, claimed.

If the constitutional rights which pertain to us as American citizens were extended to Utah according to the spirit and meaning thereof, and fairly and impartially administered, it is all that we could ask—all that we ever asked.

Our opponents have availed themselves of prejudices existing against us because of our religious faith, to send out a formidable host to accomplish our destruction. We have had no privilege, no opportunity of defending ourselves from the false, foul and unjust aspersions against us, before the nation.

The Government has not condescended to cause an investigating committee or other persons to be sent to enquire into and ascertain the truth, as is customary in such cases.

We know those expressions to be false, but that avails us nothing. We are condemned unheard, and forced to an issue with an armed mercenary mob, which has been sent against us at the instigation of anonymous letter-writers, ashamed to father the base, slanderous falsehoods which they have given to the public; of corrupt officials who have brought false accusations against us to screen themselves in their own infamy; of hireling priests and howling editors, who prostitute the truth for filthy lucre's sake.

The issue which has been thus forced upon us compels us to resort to the first great law of self-preservation, and stand in our own defence, a right guaranteed to us by the genius of the institutions of our country, and upon which the Government is based.

Our duty to ourselves, to our families, requires us not tamely to be driven and slain without an attempt to preserve ourselves. Our duty to our country, our holy religion, our God, to freedom and liberty, requires that we should not quietly stand still and see those fetters being forged which are calculated to enslave, and bring us in subjection to an unlawful military despotism, such as can only emanate, in a country of constitutional law, from usurpation, tyranny and oppression.

*Therefore*, I, Brigham Young, Governor, and Superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Utah, in the name of the people of the United States in the Territory of Utah:

1st.—Forbid all armed forces of every description from coming into this Territory, under any pretence whatever.

2d.—Order all the forces in said Territory to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice to repel any and all such invasion.

3d.—Martial law is hereby declared to exist in this Territory, from and after the publication of this proclamation, and no person shall be allowed to pass or re-pass into or through or from the Territory, without a permit from the proper officers.

Given under my hand and seal at Great Salt Lake City, Territory of Utah, this 15th day of September, A. D. 1857, and of the independence of the United States of America the 82d.

(Signed) BRIGHAM YOUNG.

In December following the Utah Legislature met. The members came together with the resolute bent of men who believed in the righteousness of their cause. On the first day of the session was duly presented the following:

### GOVERNOR YOUNG S LAST MESSAGE.

It is a matter ot deep regret that officers of a government, founded at so great a sacrifice by our forefathers, upon 'a land choice above all other lands,' have become so sunken in degradation as to have utterly lost sight of those pure and just principles embodied in the constitution, and prefer, in the pursuit of law, grovelling and selfish aims, to carry out that suicidal policy, a persistence in which can but end in rending to pieces a nation that otherwise might become the happiest and most powerful on the globe. Reckless office-holders and office-seekers have their poisoned fangs so deeply buried in the vitals of the body politic, and are so thoroughly organized and drilled in the defence and attack of the spoils, while the tradesmen, the mechanics, the husbandmen and humble laborers—the real virtue and sound intelligence of the republic—are so busily occupied in their daily toil, and, except here and there a few, are so little aware of the dire portent of the future, and of the measures necessary for insuring public tranquility, that it is a discouraging task to attempt arresting the turbid current of official corruption that would sweep every vestige of truth, virtue and human rights from our happy country; but the crimsoned satellites of plunder, oppression and usurpation may rest assured that every friend of liberty will resist their destructive progress, and stand fast by the constitution and all laws conformable therewith.

True, all human instituted governments contain more or less of the weakness pertaining to imperfection, and to this law our Government is by no means an exception, still I am not acquainted with any man-made form of government in which are sown so few of the seeds of its own dissolution. Lovers of justice as were the revolutionary patriots, endowed as they were in their deliberations and acts with a goodly portion of that wisdom that cometh from above, and wielding an influence seldom attained by so small a number, yet they were unable to devise a republican form of government without a system of checks and balances, dividing the federative power into three distinct branches, controlable only by the will of the sovereign people. Their former experience makes it a matter of no surprise that in their deliberations and acts they leaned so strongly to the side of the largest degree of individual freedom; nor, having suffered so sorely under the cruel rod of religion established by secular power, that they so clearly and strenuously guarded and guaranteed the widest scope to freedom of conscience and consequent right of worship in accordance therewith. But with the sound judgment and experience possessed by those great statesmen, it is only another evidence of the weakness incident to humanity, even when acting under the best of motives, that, after having so long groaned under the bitter oppression of British colonial rule, and successfully struggled for the establishment of the inherent right of each and all to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' with the positive guarantee that every one should be privileged with and protected in the blessings flowing from a republican form of government, whose characteristic consisted solely in the well-defined and well-understood fact that the rulers and the laws shall proceed only from the election and consent of the governed, they should, in April, 1784, pass resolutions, and, in July, 1787, over two months previous to the adoption of the constitution, pass an ordinance specially legislating for American citizens residing on public domain, directly contrary to the very genius of the articles of confederation by which they had mutually pledged each other they would be guided. And that very legislation, contrary as it was to the authorities and limitations of the articles of confederation existing at the time of the passage of the celebrated ordinance of '87, and to those of the constitution adopted in the same year, as well as to the great truth embodied in the declaration of independence, that 'governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,' could be and was endorsed by Americans, so long as the usurped power was exercised in justice. And the portion of that illegal legislation copied into 'organic acts' for Territories could be still endured, were it not so grievously abused, as is the case when officers are attempted to be forced upon a free people, contrary to their known and expressed wishes. Still, looking as our patriot fathers measurably did, to the governmental experience of the mother country, and surrounded as they were by so many conflicting views and entangling questions, it is not a subject of so much surprise that they inadvertently took so illegal a course, as it is that an early Congress under the constitution continued to perpetuate and endeavor to make legal that which neither was nor ever could be law, without first destroying or remodeling the very constitution from which Congress derives its sole power to act. And again, the course of that Congress is by no means so surprising as that Congress after Congress, with a lengthening experience in the workings of the governmental machinery and a boasted increase of enlightenment, should still continue to fasten a portion of that unconstitutional relic of colonial barbarism upon American citizens, whenever a laudable spirit of enterprise induces those citizens to lawfully occupy and improve any portion of the public domain. And it is most surprising of all, that Americans occupying public domain in Territories, have so tamely submitted to such long continued and obvious usurpation.

Even since the more odious features in the ordinance of '87 have been omitted in the organic acts more recently passed by Congress for Territories, which acts are but illegal patterns after that unconstitutional ordinance, officers are appointed to rule over American citizens in Territories, and to have a voice in the enactment, adjudication and execution of Territorial laws; and, worse still, those officers are frequently appointed from a class well known, through the rightfully expressed wishes of large majorities, to be justly objected to by those whom they are appointed to govern. Call you that republican? It is British colonial vassalage unconstitutionally perpetuated by tyranny and usurpation in the powers that be. It is difficult to conceive how a people, so enlightened as are Americans, should for so long a period have suffered themselves to be measurably disfranchised by usurpations curtailing their right, when passing an air line from a State into a Territory, more especially when that changing of locality is to result in the improvement of regions that would otherwise remain waste.

It is foreign to my present purpose to detail that policy which should have governed from the beginning in relation toenlightenedresidents in our Territories, a policy that would not have curtailed them in the least constitutional right, and would thereby have utterly excluded that odious and suicidal inconsistency existing from the first until now, between the form and the administration of our government, and would have caused the administration, as does the form, to guarantee equal freedom to all, in Territory as well as State, but will merely remark, in passing, that the continued practice of that wretched inconsistency, has done, and is doing, much to undermine the fair fabric of American liberty.

Utah, also, like other Territories, saw fit to waive those constitutional rights so illegally denied to citizens who cross certain air lines of a common country to extend the area of civil and religious liberty, and an act organizing our Territorial Government was passed by Congress on the 9th of September, 1850. Fortunately for us a wise and good man occupied the executive chair of our nation, a statesman whose sound judgment and humane feelings prompted him to extend to us our rights, so far as the 'organic act' and hungry office-hunters would permit. He appointed a part of the customary appointees in accordance with the wishes of the people, and no doubt thought he had appointed good men to fill the remaining offices, but in this he was partially disappointed, being deceived by the foolish, although very common, habit of recommending men who are not worthy. I am also confident that his successor endeavored to make as good appointments for us as circumstances and unwise counsels and recommendations would allow, but during his administration prejudice began to set in against Utah, and he was so unfortunate as to appoint, at the instigation and solicitation of a then influential Senator in Congress, a person who proved to be as degraded as his capacity would admit, and who, it is reported, came, acted, left and still acted in accordance with the instructions from the Senator who procured his appointment, but in a manner outraging morality, justice, humanity, law and even common decency.

The members and officers of the last Legislative Assembly, familiar with the evils visited upon the innocent by the miserably bad conduct of certain officials heretofore sent here by Government, knowing that all republican governments, which both our general and State governments are in form, are based upon the principle that the governed shall enjoy the right to elect their own officers, and be guided by the laws having their own consent, and perfectly aware that by the constitution residents in Territories are guaranteed that great right equal with residents in States (for Congress has not one particle more constitutional power to legislate for and officer Americans in Territories than they have to legislate for and officer Americans in States), respectfully memorialized the President and Senate to appoint officers for Utah in accordance with an accompanying list containing the names of persons who were her first choice for the offices placed opposite those names, but if that selection did not meet with approval, they were solicited to make appointments from a list containing other and a larger number of names of residents who were also the choice of the people; and if that selection was also rejected, to appoint from any part of the Union, with the simple request, in such an event, that the appointees be good men. In this matter of appointment of officers, what more rights could the most tyrannical in a republican government ask a Territory to waive? Yet up to this date no official information concerning the action, if any, taken upon that memorial, has ever reached us.

Time glided by, and travelers and newspapers began to confirm the rumor that the present Executive, and a part of the Cabinet, had yielded to the rabid clamor raised against Utah by lying editors, corrupt demagogues, heartless office hunters, and the ignorant rabble, incited by a number of the hireling clergy, and were about to send an army to Utah, with the sole and avowed purpose, as published in almost every newspaper, of compelling American citizens, peacefully, loyally and lawfully occupying American soil, to forego the dearest constitutional rights, to abandon their religion, to wallow in the mire and worship at the shrine of modern civilization and Christianity, or be expelled from the country, or exterminated. Where are now constitutional rights? Who is laying the axe at the root of the tree of liberty? Who are the usurpers? Who the tyrants? Who the traitors? Most assuredly those who are madly urging measures to subvert the genius of free institutions, and those principles of liberty upon which our Government is based, and to overthrow virtue, independence, justice and true intelligence, the loss of either of which, by the people, the celebrated Judge Story has wisely affirmed would be "the ruin of our Republic—the destruction of its vitality." And ex-President James Madison, among other purposes, declared it to be the purpose of Government "to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience, or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction."

Has Utah ever violated the least principle of the constitution, or so much as broken the most insignificant constitutional enactments. No; nor have we the most distant occasion for so doing, but have ever striven to peacefully enjoy and extend those rights granted to all by a merciful creator. But so unobtrusive and wise a course does not seem to please those who live and wish to live by office, and those who make and live lies; and since those characters are numerous, and also powerful through well disciplined organization; and since Utah has yielded right after right, for the sake of peace, until her policy has emboldened the enemies of our Union, it must needs be that President Buchanan, if he has ordered an army to Utah as reported, for he has not officially notified me of such a movement by his order, has at length succumbed, either of choice or through being overcome, to the cruel and nefarious counsels of those enemies, and is endeavoring to carry out a usurpation of power, which of right belongs only to the people, by appointing civil officers known to be justly objectionable to freemen, and sending a so-called army, under mere color of law, to force those officers upon us at the point of the bayonet, and to form a nucleus for the collection and protection of every gambler, cut-throat, whore-monger and scoundrel who may choose to follow in their train. Such a treasonable system of operations will never be endured, nor even countenanced, by any person possessed of the least spark of patriotism and love of constitutional liberty. The President knew, if he knew the facts in the case, as he was in duty bound to do before taking action, that the officials hitherto sent here had been invariably received and treated with all the respect their offices demanded, and that a portion of them had met with far more courtesy than elsewhere would have been extended to them, or their conduct deserved; he also knew, or had the privilege of knowing, that the memorial of the last Assembly, as already stated, respectfully informed him that Utah wished *good* men for officers, and that such officers would be cordially welcomed and obeyed, and that we would not again tamely endure the abuse and misrule meted by official villains, as were some who have formerly officiated here. Such being a few of the leading facts, what were the legitimate inferences drawn from the rumors that the President had sent a batch of officials with an army to operate as their posse? That he had willfully made the official appointments for

Utah from a class other than good men, and placed himself, where tyrants often are, in the position of levying war upon the very nation whose choice had made him its chief executive officer.

Fully aware, as has been justly written, that "patriotism does not consist in aiding Government in every base or stupid act it may perform, but rather in paralyzing its power when it violates vested rights, affronts insulted justice, and assumes undelegated authority," and knowing that the so-called army, reported to be on its way to Utah, was an undisguised mob, if not sent by the President of the United States; and, if sent by him, in the manner and for the purpose alleged in all the information permitted to reach us, was no less a mob, though in the latter event acting under color of law; upon learning its near approach, I issued, as in duty bound, a proclamation expressly forbidding all bodies of armed men, under whatsoever name, or by whomsoever sent, to come within the bounds of this Territory. That so-called army, or, more strictly speaking, mob, refused to obey that proclamation, copies of which were officially furnished them, and prosecuted their march to the neighborhood of Forts Bridger and Supply (which were vacated and burnt upon their approach), where it is said they intended to winter. Under these circumstances, I respectfully suggest that you take such measures as your enlightened judgment may dictate, to insure public tranquility, and protect, preserve and perpetuate inviolate those inalienable constitutional rights which have descended to us, a rich legacy, from our forefathers.

A civilized nation is one that never infringes upon the rights of its citizens, but strives to protect and make happy all within its sphere, which our Government, above all others, is obligated to accomplish, though its present course is far from that wise and just path. And under the aggravated abuses that have been heaped upon us in the past, you and the whole people are my witnesses that it has more particularly fallen to my lot and been my policy and practice to restrain rather than urge resistance to usurpation and tyranny, on the part of the enemies to the constitution and constitutional laws (who are also our enemies and the enemies of all republics and republicans), until forbearance under such cruel and illegal treatment cannot well be longer exercised. No one has denied or wishes to deny the right of the Government to send its troops when, where and as it pleases, so it is done clearly within the authorities and limitations of the constitution, and for the safety and welfare of the people; but when it sends them clearly without the pale of those authorities and limitations, unconditionally to oppress the people, as is the case in the so-called army sent to Utah, it commits a treason against itself which commands the resistance of all good men, or freedom will depart from our nation.

In compliance with a long-established custom in appointing officers not of the people's electing, which the Supreme Court of the United States would at once in justice decide to be unconstitutional, we have petitioned and petitioned that good men be appointed, until that hope is exhausted; and we have long enough borne the insults and outrages of lawless officials, until we are compelled, in self-defence, to assert and maintain that great constitutional right of the governed to officers of their own election, and local laws of their own enactment. That the President and the counselors, aiders and abettors of the present treasonable crusade against the peace and rights of a Territory of the United States, may re-consider their course and retrace their steps is earnestly to be desired; but in either event, our trust and confidence are in that being who at his pleasure rules among the armies of heaven and controls the wrath of the children of men, and most cheerfully should we be able to abide the issue.

Permit me to tender you my entire confidence that your deliberations will be distinguished by that wisdom, unanimity and love of justice that have ever marked the counsels of our legislative assemblies, and the assurance of my hearty co-operation in every measure you adopt for promoting the true interests of a Territory beloved by us for its very isolation and forbidding aspect; for here, if anywhere upon this footstool of our God, have we the privilege and prospect of being able to secure and enjoy those inestimable rights of civil and religious liberty, which the beneficent creator of all mankind has, in his mercy, made indefeasible, and perpetuate them upon a broader and firmer basis for the benefit of ourselves, of our children and our children's children, until peace shall be restored to our distracted country."

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In the course of their session the Territorial Legislature passed a series of resolutions, which were embodied in a memorial to the President of the United States.

The memorial set forth, in brief, their various grievances consequent upon the persecutions waged against them by the people of the various States in which they had lived, and the annoyances they had endured under the maladministration of corrupt Federal officials, especially Judge W. W. Drummond, who was the immediate cause of the political agitation on Utah affairs. The memorial closed thus:

*Whereas*, in our well-founded opinion, there are citizens of our Territory who are capable and honest.

whose interest is identified with the people, who desire the promotion of peace and the prosperity of the Territory and the Union; and

*Whereas*, we have furnished our worthy delegate in Congress, the Hon. John M. Bernhisel, a list of names of certain citizens of this Territory, with instructions to him to respectfully request the President of the United States to make the appointments for this Territory therefrom, or to select other citizens of this republic whose interests are and will be here, and somewhat identified with the growth and prosperity of the country: therefore be it by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, in solemn assembly convened, and having the foregoing facts and suggestions under consideration,

*Resolved*, that, while we respect the General Government, and are at all times willing to observe the laws thereof, so far as they may be applicable to our condition, in our Territorial capacity, we will resist any attempts of Government officials to set at naught our Territorial laws, or to impose upon us those which are inapplicable, and of right not in force in this Territory.

*Resolved*, that, while we will seek to carry out the rules and regulations of the various departments of the General Government, as we invariably have, we will resist any attempt of any of its officers to bring us into difficulty, by misrepresentation or otherwise, with either of said departments of the Government.

*Resolved*, that we will maintain the constitution and laws of the United States, so far as they are applicable to our Territory, but we will not tamely submit to being abused by the Government officials here in this Territory; they shall not come here to corrupt our community, set at defiance our laws, trample upon the rights of the people, stir up the Indians and use the patronage of the Government against us, as a people, by their false statements and misrepresentations; or, if they do come and act in this manner, as has been done, we will send them away, asking no odds either of political demagogues or bigots; for we well understand and know that neither the one nor the other is justified by the constitution and laws in thus trifling with the liberties of the people or trampling upon their rights.

*Resolved*, that we are a portion of the great American Republic; that we have rights civil, political, and religious, in common with the rest of the States and Territories; that those rights are as sacred to us as they are to any other people, and that it is the duty of the Government to protect us in the peaceful enjoyment thereof, so far as it is in their power, and not to seek to annoy and distress us either with foreign appointments or by fastening upon our necks the yoke of tyranny and oppression, thus depriving us of those rights of freedom pertaining to every republican government, and held sacred by every State and Territory.

*Resolved*, that we inherit from our fathers who declared that governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," the right to have a voice in the selection of our rulers, and that to deny that right is anti-republican and fraught with evil, not only to us who are unwisely and unjustly held in a Territorial capacity, but to every lover of American freedom.

*Resolved*, that we desire to live in peace, and have ever done so, when let alone by our enemies; that we have sacrificed much to get out of their way, and that, if they follow us up, as in times past, to seek our destruction, we are ready and willing to sacrifice far more, rather than not be rid of them. They shall not live in our midst to plot treason against the Territory, and to bring against us the forces of the United States to our destruction.

*Resolved*, that we eschew as evil, and utterly repudiate, all social intercourse with those officials who practice, under the garb of their official dignity, every species of iniquity; also with the murdering thieves and vagabonds with whom such officials associate; and they must and shall leave this Territory, so soon as they manifest themselves to be of the character set forth in this memorial.

*Resolved*, that we respectfully solicit the President of the United States to make the appointments to the offices of this Territory from among the citizens thereof, or else select other good citizens of this great republic, who will endeavor to promote the interests of the Territory and become identified therewith.

# CHAPTER XVIII.

BUCHANAN COERCED BY PUBLIC SENTIMENT INTO SENDING A COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION. HE SENDS COLONEL KANE WITH A SPECIAL MISSION TO THE MORMONS. ARRIVAL OF THE COLONEL IN SALT LAKE CITY. HIS FIRST INTERVIEW WITH THE MORMON LEADERS. INCIDENTS OF HIS SOJOURN. HE GOES TO MEET GOVERNOR CUMMING, AND IS PLACED UNDER ARREST BY GENERAL JOHNSTON. HIS CHALLENGE TO THAT OFFICER. HE BRINGS IN THE NEW GOVERNOR IN TRIUMPH. CORDIAL MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNORS. RETURN OF COLONEL KANE.

The reaction came. The leading papers, both of America and England, declared that President Buchanan had committed a great and palpable blunder. He had sent an army, before a committee of investigation, and had made war upon one of our Territories for rejecting (!) a new Governor before that Governor had been sent. Brigham Young had clearly a constitutional advantage over the President of the United States—for in those days the rights of the citizen, and the rights of a State or Territory, had some meaning in the national mind. The idea of "Buchanan's blunder" once started, it soon became universal in the public mind. The Mormons were not in rebellion, as they themselves stoutly maintained. They were ready to receive the new Governor with becoming loyalty, but not willing to have him forced upon them by bayonets. There was nothing more to be said in the case, excepting that, by the common law of nature, a man may hold off the hand at his throat to say in good old scriptural language, "Come, let us reason together."

All America, and all Europe, "saw the point," and a storm of condemnation and ridicule fell upon the devoted head of the President. Peace commissioners alone could help him out of the trouble.

At this critical juncture Col. Kane sought the man at the White House, and offered his services as mediator. Buchanan wisely recognized his potency and fitness, and without a moment's loss of time the Colonel set out on his self-imposed mission, although in such feeble health that any consideration short of the noble impulse that actuated him at the time would have deterred him from making the attempt. The undertaking was as delicate as it was important. Its success alone could make it acceptable, either to the Mormons or to the nation.

For prudential reasons he registered himself as "Dr. Osborne" among the passengers on board the California steamer, which left New York in the first week of January, 1858. On reaching the Pacific coast, he hastened, overland, to Southern California, there overtaking the Mormons who had just broken up their colony at San Bernardino, re-gathering to Utah for the common defence. An escort was immediately furnished him, and he reached Salt Lake City in the following February.

Governor Young called a council of the Presidency and Twelve, at his house, on the evening of the day of Col. Kane's arrival, and at eight o'clock the "messenger from Washington" was introduced by Joseph A. Young, as "Dr. Osborne."

The introduction was very formal. The Colonel had a peculiar mission to fulfill, and was evidently desirous to maintain the dignity of the Government. Moreover, it was more than eleven years since he had met his friends of winter quarters. They had, with their people, become as a little nation, and the United States was making war upon them as an independent power. Notwithstanding that his great love for them had prompted him to undertake the long journey which he had just accomplished, at first he must have felt the uncertainty of his mission, and some misgivings as to the regard in which they would hold his mediation. But perhaps no other man in the nation at that critical moment would have been received by the Mormon leaders with such perfect confidence.

The Colonel was very pale, being worn down with travel by day and night. An easy chair was placed for him. A profound silence of some moments reigned. The council waited to hear the mind of the Government, for the coming of Col. Kane had put a new aspect on affairs, though what it was to be remained to be shaped from that night. With great difficulty in speaking he addressed the council as follows:

"*Governor Young and Gentlemen*:—I come as an ambassador from the chief executive of our nation, and am prepared and duly authorized to lay before you, most fully and definitely, the feelings and views of the citizens of our common country, and of the Executive towards you, relative to the present position of this Territory, and relative to the army of the United States now upon your borders.

"After giving you the most satisfactory evidence in relation to matters concerning you, now pending, I shall then call your attention, and wish to enlist your sympathies, in behalf of the poor soldiers who are now suffering in the cold and snow of the mountains. I shall request you to render them aid and comfort, and to assist them to come here, and to bid them a hearty welcome into your hospitable valley.

"Governor Young, may I be permitted to ask a private interview for a few moments with you? Gentlemen, excuse my formality."

They were gone about thirty minutes, when they returned again to the room.

Colonel Kane then informed the council that Captain Van Vliet had made a good report of them at Washington, and had used his influence to have the army stop east of Bridger. He had done a great deal in their behalf.

"You all look very well," said the Colonel, "you have built up quite an empire here in a short time."

He spoke upon the prosperity of the people, instancing some of its phases; and then the enquiry came from some one present: "Did Dr. Bernhisel "take his seat?" No news whatever of the Utah delegate had yet reached them.

"Yes," he answered, "Delegate Bernhisel took "his seat. He was opposed by the Arkansas mem-"ber and a few others, but they were treated as "fools by more sagacious members; for, if the dele-"gate had been refused his seat, it would have been "tantamount to a declaration of war."

Speaking of the conduct of the Mormons, he said:

"You have borne your part manfully in this con-"test. I was pleased to see how patiently your "people took it."

"How was the President's message received?" asked Governor Young.

"The message was received as usual. In his "appointments he had been cruelly impartial. So "far he has made an excellent President. He has "an able cabinet. They are more united, and work "together better than some of our former cabinets "have done."

"I suppose," observed Governor Young, caustically, "they are united in putting down Utah?"

"I think not," replied the Colonel.

Then came conversations on the affairs of the nation—of Spain, Kansas, the Black Warrior affair, financial pressure, &c.

By this time all restraint between the brethren and their noble friend was gone.

"I wish you knew how much I feel at home," he observed. "I hope I shall have the privilege of "breaking bread with these, my friends."

"I want to take good care of you," returned Governor Young warmly. "I want to tell you one "thing, and that is, the men you see here do not "look old. The reason is they are doing right, and "are in the service of God. If men would do right "they would live to a great age. There are but few "in the world who have the amount of labor to do "which I have. I have to meet men every hour in "the day. It is said of me that I do more busi-"ness in an hour than any President, King or "Emperor has to perform in a day; and that I think "for the people constantly. You can endure more "now than you could ten years ago. If you had "done as some men have done you would have "been in your grave before now."

The Colonel replied, "I fear that I *can* endure "more than I could ten years ago. The present "life doesn't pay, and I feel like going away as soon "as it is the will of God to take me."

"I know, to take this life as it is, and as men "make it," answered President Young, "it does not "appear worth living, but I can tell you that, when "you see things as they are, you will find life is "worth preserving, and blessings will follow our "living in this life, if we do right.

"Now," continued the President, warming with his subject, "if God should say I will let you live "in this world without any pain or sorrow, we "might feel life was worth living for. But this is not "in his economy. We have to partake of sorrow, "affliction and death; and if we pass through this "affliction patiently, and do right, we shall have a "greater reward in the world to come. I have been "robbed several times of my all in this life, and my "property has gone into the hands of my enemies; "but as to property, I care no more about it than "about the dirt in the streets, only to use it as God "wishes. But I think a great deal of a friend—a "true friend. An honest man it truly the noblest "work of God. It is not in the power of the "United States to destroy this people, for they are "in the hands of God. If we do right, He will pre-"serve us. The Lord does many things which we "would count as small things. For instance, a poor "man once came into my office; I felt by the spirit "that he needed assistance; I took five dollars out "of my pocket and gave to him. I soon after "found a five-dollar gold piece in my pocket, which "I did not put there. Soon I found another. Many "think that the Lord has nothing to do with gold; "but he has charge of that as well as every other "element. Brother Kimball said in Nauvoo, 'if "'we have to leave our houses we will go to the "'mountains, and in a few years we will have a "'better city than we have here.' This is fulfilled. "He also said, 'We shall have gold, and coin "'twenty-dollar gold pieces.' We came here, "founded a city, *and coined the first twenty-dollar* "*gold pieces in the United States.* Seeing the "brethren poorly clad, soon after we came here, he "said, 'It will not be three years before we can "'buy clothing cheaper in Salt Lake Valley than in "'the States.' Before the time was out, the gold-"diggers brought loads of clothing, and sold them "in our city at a wanton price.

"Friend Thomas," concluded Governor Young, "the Lord sent you here, and he will not let you

"die—no, you cannot die till your work is done.
"I want to have your name live to all eternity. You
"have done a great work, and you will do a greater
"work still."

The council then broke up, and the brethren went to their homes.

The straight-forward, noble simplicity of what was thus done and said between Thomas L. Kane and Brigham Young, in the presence of the apostles, cannot but strike the attention of the intelligent investigator.

After the council had ended, word was sent to Elder Wm. C. Staines that a Dr. Osborne, traveling with the company from California, was sick, and desired accommodation at his house; and late in the evening "Dr. Osborne" was duly introduced to, and cordially welcomed by, Elder Staines. The elder had no idea that his guest was other than the person represented, for when Col. Kane was at winter quarters, he (Staines) was among the Indians, with Bishop Miller's camp.

However, in a few days Elder Staines learned who his guest was, and, as a favorable opportunity presented itself, said to him:

"Col. Kane, why did you wish to be introduced
"to me as Dr. Osborne?"

"My dear friend," replied the Colonel, "I was
"once treated so kindly at winter quarters that I
"am sensitive over its memories. I knew you to
"be a good people then; but since, I have heard so
"many hard things about you, that I thought I
"would like to convince myself whether or not the
"people possessed the same humane and hospitable

"spirit which I found in them once. I thought—if "I go to the house of any of my great friends "of winter quarters, they will treat me as Thomas "L. Kane, with a remembrance of some services "which I may have rendered them. So I requested "to be sent to some stranger's house, as 'Dr. Osborne,' that I might know how the Mormon *people* "would treat a stranger at such a moment as this, "without knowing whether I might not turn out to "be either an enemy or a spy. And now, Mr. "Staines, I want to know if you could have treated "Thomas L. Kane better than you have treated "Dr. Osborne."

"No, Colonel," replied Elder Staines, "I could "not."

"And thus, my friend," added 'Dr. Osborne,' "I "have proved that the Mormons will treat the "stranger in Salt Lake City, as they once did "Thomas L. Kane at winter quarters."

In a few days, under the inspiring spirit and affectionate nursing of his host, Colonel Kane was sufficiently recovered to carry out his design of proceeding to the head-quarters of the army (Fort Bridger, then called Camp Scott).

Governor Young's policy had changed in nought, excepting in that which was consistent with the improved situation. The Mormons would receive their new Governor loyally, but would not have him accompanied by an army into their capital; neither would they allow an army to be quartered in any of their cities. The agent of the administration could ask no more nor desire more. It was the basis of a fair compromise, which would give to President

Buchanan a plausible out-come, and at the same time maintain the Mormon dignity.

The visit of Col. Kane to Camp Scott was attended with a chain of circumstances that give to the narration of it a decidedly dramatic cast. At the worst season of the year, in delicate health, he made his way through the almost impassable snows of the mountains, a distance of 113 miles. Arrived, on the 10th of March, in the vicinity of the army outposts, he insisted, out of consideration for the safety of his friendly escort, on entering the lines unaccompanied. Reaching the nearest picket post, an over-zealous sentry challenged him, and at the same time fired at him. In return, the Colonel broke the stock of his rifle over the sentry's head. The post being now fully arroused and greatly excited, Col. Kane, with characteristic politeness as well as diplomacy, requested to be conducted to the tent of Gov. Cumming. The Governor received him cordially.

The Colonel's diplomacy in seeking the Governor, instead of General Johnston, is evident. His business was not directly with the commander, but with the civil chief, whose *posse commitatus* the troops were. The compromise which Buchanan had to effect, with the utmost delicacy, could only be through the new Governor, and that, too, by his heading off the army sent to occupy Utah.

The General was chagrined. Here was Buchanan withdrawing from a serious blunder as gracefully as possible; but where was Albert Sidney Johnston to achieve either glory or honor out of the Utah war?

Affecting to treat Col. Kane as a spy, an orderly was sent to arrest him. It was afterwards converted into a blundering execution of the General's invitation to him to dine at head-quarters. The blunder was no doubt an intentional one. Col. Kane replied by sending a formal challenge to General Johnston.

Governor Cumming could do nothing less than espouse the cause of the "ambassador," who was there in the execution of a mission entrusted to him by the President of the United States. The affair of honor also touched himself. He resented it with great spirit, extended his official protection to his guest, and from that moment there was an impassable breach between the executive and the military chief. The duel, however, was prevented by the interference of Chief Justice Eckels, who threatened to arrest all concerned in it if it proceeded further.

The conduct of General Johnston was looked upon by the Mormon leader as very like a bit of providential diplomacy interposed in behalf of his people. With the Governor and the commander of the army at swords' points, the issues of the "war" were practically in the hands of Brigham Young. From that moment he knew that he was master of the situation; and the extraordinary moves that he made thereupon, culminating with the second exodus, show what a consummate strategist he is, and how complex are his methods of mastering men. He was now not only in command of his own people, who at the lifting of his finger would move with him to the ends of the earth, but substantially dictator both to the Governor and the army. Johnston could only move at the call of the Governor, and was hedged about by the new policy of the President, while this shaping of affairs converted the Mormon militia, then under arms, into the Governor's *posse commitatus*, instead of the regular troops.

The mission of Col. Kane to the seat of war was to induce the Governor to trust himself through the Mormon lines, under a Mormon escort of honor that would be furnished at the proper point, and to enter immediately upon his gubernatorial duties. The officers remonstrated with the Governor against going to the city without the army, predicting that the Mormons would poison him, or put him out of the way by some other wicked ingenuity; but the camp was now no longer the place for him, and with a high temper and a humane spirit, he trusted himself to the guidance of Col. Kane.

The Governor left Camp Scott on the 5th of March, *en route* for Salt Lake City, accompanied by Col. Kane and two servants. As soon as he had passed the Federal lines, he was met by an escort of the Utah militia, and welcomed as Governor of the Territory with military honors.

On the 12th of April they entered Salt Lake City in good health and spirits, escorted by the Mayor, marshal and aldermen, and many other distinguished citizens.

Arrived at the residence of Elder Staines, Governor Young promptly and frankly called upon his successor at the earliest possible moment;

and they were introduced to each other by Col. Kane.

"Governor Cumming, I am glad to meet you!" observed Brigham, with unostentatious dignity, and that quiet heartiness peculiar to him.

"Governor Young, I am happy to meet you, sir!" responded His Excellency warmly, at once impressed by the presence and spirit of the remarkable man before him.

"Well, Governor," said Elder Staines, after the interview was ended, "what do you think of President Young? Does he appear to you a tyrant, as "represented?"

"No, sir. No tyrant ever had a head on his "shoulders like Mr. Young. He is naturally a very "good man. I doubt whether many of your people "appreciate him as a leader."

The brethren were apprised of the fact that the officers at Camp Scott had warned the Governor that the Mormons would poison him, so it was contrived that Elder Staines and Howard Egan should eat at the same table with him and partake of the same food. Of course he understood the delicate assurance that "death was not in the pot."

Three days after his entrance into the city, Governor Cumming officially notified General Johnston that he had been properly recognized by the people; that he was in full discharge of his office, and that he did not require the presence of troops.

On his part, ex-Governor Young set the public example, and on the Sunday following introduced him to a large assembly as the Governor of Utah.

Thus successfully ended the mission of Col.

Kane, who shortly thereafter returned to Washington, to report in person to the President. Journeying by the overland route, a body-guard of Mormon scouts accompanied him to the Missouri River. It is no more than simple justice to here testify of him, that a more gentle and noble man is rarely to be found, and for his disinterested kindness toward the Mormon people they will ever hold his name in honorable and affectionate remembrance.

# CHAPTER XIX.

**REPORT OF GOVERNOR CUMMING TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT RECORDS FOUND NOT BURNED AS REPORTED BY DRUMMOND. THE MORMON LEADERS JUSTIFIED BY THE FACTS, AND THE PEOPLE LOYAL. GRAPHIC AND THRILLING DESCRIPTION OF THE MORMONS IN THEIR SECOND EXODUS. THE GOVERNOR BRINGS HIS FAMILY TO SALT LAKE CITY. HIS WIFE IS MOVED TO TEARS AT WITNESSING THE HEROIC ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE.**

Governor Cumming immediately reported the condition of affairs in Utah, and the re-action that it produced in the public mind, both in America and Europe, can well be imagined. It was a new revelation, to the age, of Mormon character and Mormon sincerity. The peculiar people were never understood till then, notwithstanding their previous exodus, for only Missouri and Illinois seemed concerned in their early history and doings; but now that the United States Government was a party in the action, all the world became interested in the extraordinary spectacle of a peculiar little unconquerable people braving the wrath of a mighty nation.

The current events of those days, including the "second exodus," which was begun in anticipation of a breach of faith, on the part of the United States authorities, in this instance, as in the previous case of the State authorities at Nauvoo, are well recounted in the following report of Governor Cumming, addressed to General Cass, then Secretary of State:

Executive Office, Salt Lake City, U. T.,
May 2d, 1858.

SIR: You are aware that my contemplated journey was postponed in consequence of the snow upon the mountains, and in the canyons between Fort Bridger and this city. In accordance with the determination communicated in former notes, I left camp on the 5th, and arrived here on the 12th ult.

Some of the incidents of my journey are related in the annexed note, addressed by me to General A. S. Johnston, on the 15th ult.:

Executive Office, Salt Lake City, U. T.,
April 15th, 1858.

SIR: I left camp on the 5th, en route to this city, in accordance with a determination communicated to you on the 3d inst., accompanied by Colonel Kane as my guide, and two servants. Arriving in the vicinity of the spring, which is on this side of the "Quaking Asp" hill, after night, Indian camp fires were discerned on the rocks overhanging the valley. We proceeded to the spring, and after disposing of the animals, retired from the trail beyond the mountain. We had reason to congratulate ourselves upon having taken this precaution, as we subsequently ascertained that the country lying between your outposts and the "Yellow Creek" is infested by hostile renegades and outlaws from various tribes.

I was escorted from Bear River Valley to the western end of Echo Canyon. The journey through the canyon being performed, for the most part, after night, it was about 11 o'clock P. M. when I arrived at Weber Station. I have been everywhere recognized as Governor of Utah; and, so far from having encountered insults or indignities, I am gratified in being able to state to you that, in passing through the settlements, I have been universally greeted with such respectful attentions as are due to the representative of the executive authority of the United States in the Territory.

Near the Warm Springs, at the line dividing Great Salt Lake and Davis Counties, I was honored with a formal and respectful reception by many gentlemen, including the mayor and other municipal officers of the city, and by them escorted to lodgings previously provided, the mayor occupying a seat in my carriage.

Ex-Governor Brigham Young paid me a call of ceremony as soon as I was sufficiently relieved from the fatigue of my mountain journey to receive company. In subsequent interviews with the ex-Governor, he has evinced a willingness to afford me every facility I may require for the efficient performance of my administrative duties. His course in this respect meets, I fancy, with the approval of a majority of this community. The Territorial seal, with other public property, has been tendered me by William H. Hooper, Esq., late Secretary *pro tem.*

I have not yet examined the subject critically, but apprehend that the records of the United States Courts, Territorial Library, and other public property remain unimpaired.

Having entered upon the performance of my official duties in this city, it is probable that I will be detained for some days in this part of the Territory.

I respectfully call your attention to a matter which demands our serious consideration. Many acts of depredation have been recently committed by the Indians upon the property of the inhabitants—one in the immediate vicinity of this city. Believing that the Indians will endeavor to sell the stolen property at or near your camp, I herewith inclose the Brand Book (incomplete) and memoranda (in part) of stock lost by citizens of Utah since Feb. 25th, 1858, which may enable you to secure the property and punish the thieves.

With feelings of profound regret I have learned that Agent Hart is charged with having incited to acts of hostility the Indians in Uinta Valley. I hope that Agent Hart will be able to vindicate himself from the charges contained in the inclosed letter from Wm. H. Hooper, late Secretary *pro tem*, yet they demand a thorough investigation.

I shall probably be compelled to make a requisition upon you for a sufficient force to chastise the Indians alluded to, since I desire to avoid being compelled to call out the militia for that purpose.

The gentlemen who are intrusted with this note, Mr. John B. Kimball and Mr. Fay Worthen, are engaged in mercantile pursuits here, and are represented to be gentlemen of the highest respectability, and have no connection with the Church here. Should you deem it advisable or necessary, you will please send any communication intended for me by them. I beg leave to commend them to your confidence and courtesy. They will probably return to the city in a few days. They are well-known to Messrs. Gilbert, Perry and Burr, with whom you will please communicate.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. Cumming,
*Gov. Utah Ter.*

To A. S. Johnston, commanding Army of Utah,
Camp Scott, U. T.

The note omits to state that I met parties of armed men at Lost Creek and Yellow Creek, as well as at Echo Canyon. At every point, however, I was recognized as the Governor of Utah, and received with a military salute. When it was arranged with the Mormon officers in command of my escort that I should pass through Echo Canyon at night, I inferred that it was with the object of concealing the barricades and other defences. I was, therefore, agreeably surprised by an illumination in honor of me. The bonfires kindled by the soldiers from the base to the summits of the walls of the canyon, completely illuminated the valley, and disclosed the snow-colored mountains which surrounded us. When I arrived at the next station, I found the "Emigrant Road" over the "Big Mountain" still impassable. I was able to make my way, however, down "Weber Canyon." Since my arrival, I have been employed in examining the records of the Supreme and District Courts, which I am now prepared to report as being perfect and unimpaired. This will doubtless be acceptable information to those who have entertained an impression to the contrary.

I have also examined the Legislative Records, and other books belonging to the Secretary of State, which are in perfect preservation. The property return, though not made up in proper form, exhibits the public property for which W. H. Hooper, late Secretary of State *pro tem*, is responsible. It is, in part, the same for which the estate of A. W. Babbitt is liable, that individual having died whilst in the office of Secretary of State for Utah.

I believe that the books and charts, stationery and other property appertaining to the Surveyor-General's office, will, upon examination, be found in the proper place, except some instruments, which are supposed to have been disposed of by a man temporarily in charge of the office. I examined the property, but cannot verify the matter in consequence of not having at my command a schedule or property return.

The condition of the large and valuable Territorial library has also commanded my attention, and I am pleased in being able to report that Mr. W. C. Staines, the librarian, has kept the books and records in the most excellent condition. I will, at an early day, transmit a catalogue of this library, and a schedule of the other public property, with certified copies of the records of the Supreme and District Courts, exhibiting the character and amount of the public business last transacted in them.

On the 21st inst. I left Salt Lake City, and visited Tooele and Rush Valleys, in the latter of which lies the military reserve selected by Col. Steptoe, and endeavored to trace the lines upon the ground, from field-notes which are in the Surveyor-General's office. An accurate plan of the reserve, as it has been measured off, will be found accompanying a communication, which I shall address to the Secretary of War, upon the subject.

On the morning of the 26th inst., information was communicated to me that a number of persons who were desirous of leaving the Territory were unable to do so, and considered themselves to be unlawfully restrained of their liberties. However desirous of conciliating public opinion, I felt it incumbent upon me to adopt the most energetic measures to ascertain the truth or falsehood of this statement. Postponing, therefore, a journey of importance which I had in contemplation to one of the settlements of Utah County, I caused public notice to be given immediately of my readiness to relieve all persons who were, or deemed themselves to be, aggrieved, and on the ensuing day, which was

Sunday, requested a notice to the same effect to be read, in my presence, to the people in the tabernacle.

I have since kept my office open at all hours of the day and night, and have registered no less than 56 men, 38 women and 71 children, as desirous of my protection and assistance in proceeding to the States. The large majority of these people are of English birth, and state that they leave the congregation from a desire to improve their circumstances, and realize elsewhere more money for their labor. Certain leading men among the Mormons have promised them flour, and to assist them in leaving the country.

My presence at the meeting in the tabernacle will be remembered by me as an occasion of interest. Between three and four thousand persons were assembled for the purpose of public worship; the hall was crowded to overflowing; but the most profound quiet was observed when I appeared. President Brigham Young introduced me by name as the Governor of Utah, and I addressed the audience from "the stand." I informed them that I had come among them to vindicate the national sovereignty; that it was my duty to secure the supremacy of the constitution and the laws; that I had taken my oath of office to exact an unconditional submission on their part to the dictates of the law. I was not interrupted. In a discourse of about thirty minutes' duration, I touched (as I thought best) boldly upon all the leading questions at issue between them and the General Government. I remembered that I had to deal with men embittered by the remembrance and recital of many real and imaginary wrongs, but did not think it wise to withhold from them the entire truth. They listened respectfully to all I had to say—approvingly, even, I fancied—when I explained to them what I intended should be the character of my administration. In fact the whole character of the people was calm, betokening no consciousness of having done wrong, but rather, as it were, indicating a conviction that they had done their duty to their religion and to their country. I have observed that the Mormons profess to view the constitution as the work of inspired men, and respond with readiness to appeals for its support.

I informed them that they were entitled to a trial by their peers; that I had no intention of stationing the army in immediate contact with their settlements, and that the military posse would not be resorted to until other means of arrest had been tried and failed. * * * The President and the American people will learn with gratification the auspicious issue of our difficulties here. I regret the necessity, however, which compels me to mingle with my congratulations, the announcement of a fact that will occasion great concern.

The people, including the inhabitants of this city, are moving from every settlement in the northern part of the Territory. The roads are everywhere filled with wagons loaded with provisions and household furniture, the women and children often without shoes or hats, driving their flocks they know not where. They seem not only resigned but cheerful. "It is the will of the Lord," and they rejoice to exchange the comforts of home for the trials of the wilderness. Their ultimate destination is not, I presume, definitely fixed upon. "Going South," seems sufficiently definite for the most of them, but many believe that their ultimate destination is Sonora.

Young, Kimball and most of the influential men have left their commodious mansions, without apparent regret, to lengthen the long train of wanderers. The masses everywhere announce to me that the torch will be applied to every house indiscriminately throughout the country, so soon as the troops attempt to cross the mountains. I shall follow these people and try to rally them.

Our military force could overwhelm most of these poor people, involving men, women and children in a common fate; but there are among the Mormons many brave men, accustomed to arms and horses; men who could fight desperately as guerrillas; and if the settlements are destroyed, will subject the country to an expensive and protracted war, without any compensating results. They will, I am sure, submit to "trial by their peers," but they will not brook the idea of trials by "juries" composed of "teamsters and followers of the camp," nor of an army encamped in their cities or dense settlements.

I have adopted means to recall the few Mormons remaining in arms, who have not yet, it is said, complied with my request to withdraw from the canyons and eastern frontiers. I have also taken measures to protect the buildings which have been vacated in the northern settlements. I am sanguine that I will save a great part of the valuable improvements there.

I shall leave this city for the South to-morrow. After I have finished my business there, I shall return as soon as possible to the army, to complete the arrangements which will enable me before long, I trust, to announce that the road between California and Missouri may be traveled with perfect security by trains and emigrants of every description.

I shall restrain all operations of the military for the present, which will probably enable me to receive from the President additional instructions, if he deems it necessary to give them.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. Cummings,
*Governor of Utah.*

To Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

On the 13th of May, Gov. Cumming started for Camp Scott, for the purpose of moving his family to Salt Lake City. Meanwhile the "exodus" had been quietly going forward, and when the Governor returned he found only a few men who had been left in the city to burn it in case the army attempted to quarter there.

The Governor and his wife proceeded to the residence of Elder Staines, whom they found in waiting with a plentiful cold lunch. His family had gone south, and in his garden were significantly heaped several loads of straw.

The Governor's wife enquired their meaning, and the cause of the silence that pervaded the city. Elder Staines informed her of their resolve to burn the town in case the army atempted to occupy it.

"How terrible!" she exclaimed. "What a sight "this is! I never shall forget it! It has the ap-"pearance of a city that has been afflicted with a "plague. Every house looks like a tomb of the "dead! For two miles I have seen but one man in "it. Poor creatures! And so all have left their "hard-earned homes?"

Here she burst into tears.

"Oh! Alfred (to her husband), something must "be done to bring them back! Do not permit the "army to stay in the city! Can't you do something "for them?"

"Yes, madam," said he, "I shall do all I can, rest "assured. I only wish I could be in Washington "for two hours; I am persuaded that I could con-"vince the Government that we have no need for "troops."

# CHAPTER XX.

THE ARRIVAL OF PEACE COMMISSIONERS. EXTRAORDINARY COUNCIL BETWEEN THEM AND THE MORMON LEADERS. A SINGULAR SCENE IN THE COUNCIL. ARRIVAL OF A COURIER WITH DESPATCHES. "STOP THAT ARMY! OR WE BREAK UP THE CONFERENCE." "BROTHER DUNBAR, SING ZION!" THE PEACE COMMISSIONERS MARVEL, BUT AT LAST FIND A HAPPY ISSUE. RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE MORMON ARMY.

The honorable course of Van Vliet, in protesting against an exterminating war upon a religious people, coupled with the guarantee which Colonel Kane had personally given to the Government for the essential loyalty of the Mormons, made the sending of peace commissioners imperative. An example of the right course once set by the noble Kane, President Buchanan hastened to send Governor L. W. Powell, of Kentucky, and Major Ben McCullough, of Texas, to negotiate a peace. They arrived in the city in June, 1858. Wilford Woodruff's Journal contains the following minute of their first council with the Mormon leaders:

*June 11th.*—The Presidency and many others met with the Peace Commissioners in the council house. Governor Powell, a Senator elect from Kentucky, and Major McCullough, from Texas, were then introduced to the assembly, as the Peace Commissioners sent by President Buchanan. Governor Powell spoke to the people, and informed us what the President wished at our hands. President Buchanan has sent by them a proclamation, accusing us of treason and some fifty other crimes, all of which charges are false. Yet he pardons us for all these offences, if we will be subject to the constitution and laws of the United States, aud if we will let his troops quarter in our Territory. He pledged himself that they should not interefere with our people, nor infringe upon any city, and said that he had no right to interfere with our religion, faith or practice.

The Peace Commissioners confirmed the same. They did not wish to enquire into the past at all, but wished to let it all go and talk about the present and the future.

*Reflections.*—President Buchanan had made war upon us, and wished to destroy us because of our religion, thinking that it would be popular, but he found that Congress would not sustain him in it. He has got into a bad scrape, and wishes to get out of it the best he can. Now he wants peace, because he is in the wrong, and has met with a strong resistance from a high-minded people in these mountains, which he did not expect to meet. We are willing to give him peace upon any terms that are honorable; but *not upon terms which are dishonorable to us.* We have our rights and dare maintain them, trusting in God for victory. The Lord has heard our prayers, and the President of the United States has been obliged to ask for peace.

The naivete of Apostle Woodruff, in his idea of giving peace to James Buchanan, is something amusing, yet is there a severe democratic philosophy in it. "He wants peace because he is in the wrong "and has met with a strong resistance from a high-"minded people," is a passage that any President of the United States might profitably lay under his official pillow, whether in his administration towards a Utah or a Louisiana. But Brother Woodruff's emphatic view that the Mormons could only consent to a peace on honorable terms; with his brave assertion that, "we have our rights, and dare main-"tain them, trusting in God for victory," has in it a touch of sublimity.

That day also witnessed a striking example of Governor Young's tact and resolution:

The Peace Commissioners had laid their message before the council. Brigham had spoken, as well as the Peace Commissioners. The aspect of affairs was favorable. Presently, however, a well-known character was seen to enter, approach the ex-Governor and whisper to him. He was from the Mormon army. There was at once a sensation, for it was appreciated that he brought some unexpected and important news. Brigham arose; his manner self-possessed, but severe.

"Governor Powell, are you aware, sir, that those "troops are on the move towards the city?"

"It cannot be!" exclaimed Powell, surprised, "for we were promised by the General that they "should not move till after this meeting."

"I have received a dispatch that they are on the "march for this city. My messenger would not "deceive me."

It was like a thunderclap to the Peace Commissioners: they could offer no explanation.

"Is Brother Dunbar present?" inquired Brigham.

"Yes, sir," responded the one called.

What was coming now?

"Brother Dunbar, sing Zion."

The Scotch songster came forward and sang the following soul-stirring lines, by Chas. W. Penrose:

O ye mountains high, where the clear blue sky
Arches over the vales of the free;
Where the pure breezes blow,
And the clear streamlets flow,
How I've longed to your bosom to flee.
O Zion! dear Zion! land of the free,
My own mountain home, now to thee I have come,
All my fond hopes are centred in thee.

Though the great and the wise all thy beauties despise,
To the humble and pure thou art dear;
Though the haughty may smile
And the wicked revile,
Yet we love thy glad tidings to hear.
O Zion! dear Zion! home of the free;
Thou wert forced to fly to thy chambers on high,
Yet we'll share joy or sorrow with thee.

In thy mountain retreat, God will strengthen thy feet;
On the necks of thy foes thou shalt tread,
And their silver and gold,
As their prophets have told,
Shall be brought to adorn thy fair head.
O Zion! dear Zion! home of the free;
Soon thy towers shall shine with a splendor divine,
And eternal thy glory shall be.

Here our voices we'll raise, and we'll sing to thy praise,
Sacred home of the prophets of God;
Thy deliverance is nigh,
Thy oppressors shall die,
And the gentiles shall bow 'neath thy rod.
O Zion! dear Zion! home of the free;
In thy temples we'll bend, all thy rights we'll defend,
And our home shall be ever with thee.

The action of Brigham had been very simple in the case, but there was a world of meaning in it. Interpreted it meant—"Gentlemen, we have heard "what President Buchanan and yourselves have "said about pardoning us for standing up for our "constitutional rights, and defending our lives and "liberties. We will consent to a peace on honorable terms; but you must keep faith with us. Stop "that army! or our peace conference is ended. "Brethren, sing Zion. Gentlemen, you have our "ultimatum!"

With the theme before him, the reader will fully appreciate what the singing of "Zion" meant. There have been times when the singing of that hymn by the thousands of the Saints has been almost as potent as that revolutionary hymn of France—the Marsellaise. This was such a time.

After the meeting, McCullough and Governor Cumming took a stroll together, for the purpose of chatting upon the affairs of the morning.

"What will you do with such a people?" asked the Governor, with a mixture of admiration and concern.

"D——n them! I would fight them, if I had "my way," answered McCullough.

"Fight them, would you? You might fight "them, but you would never whip them. They "would never know when they were whipped! Did "you notice the snap in those men's eyes to-day? "No, sir; they would never know when they were "whipped!"

And Governor Cumming was right. When did a God-fearing people, with providence seen in every foot-mark of their career, ever know that they were whipped? Did ancient Israel? Did Cromwell and his Ironsides? Have the Mormons to this hour known it? They never will know it, so long as they remain a God-fearing and God-trusting people!

At night the Peace Commissioners and the Mormon leaders were again in council, in private session, until ten o'clock.

Next morning, at nine o'clock, the conference again convened, and the doors were thrown open to the public. Elders John Taylor, George A. Smith and Adjt.-Gen. James Ferguson gave expression to their views and feelings, and then President Young spoke at some length, with a will and a purpose in every word. Woodruff, in his journal, says:

"Then the Peace Commissioners heard the roar "of the lion of the Lord!"

The following brief synopsis of his speech, furnished by one present, will give the reader an idea of what the "roar of the lion of the Lord" was at that critical moment, when the issue of peace or war was pending:

President Young arose. He said: "I have "listened very attentively to the commissioners, "and will say, as far as I am concerned, I thank "President Buchanan for forgiving me, but I really "cannot tell what I have done. I know one thing, "and that is, that the people called 'Mormons' are "a loyal and a law-abiding people, and have ever "been. Neither President Buchanan nor any one "else can contradict the statement. It is true, Lot "Smith burned some wagons containing Government supplies for the army. This was an overt "act, and if it is for this we are to be pardoned,

" I accept the pardon. The burning of a few U. S. " wagons is but a small item, yet for this, combined " with false reports, the whole Mormon people are " to be destroyed.

" What has the United States Government per" mitted mobs to do to us? Gentlemen, you can" not answer that question! I can, however, and so " can thousands of my brethren. We have been " whipped and plundered; our houses burned, our " fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters and children " butchered and murdered by the scores. We have " been driven from our homes time and time again; " but have troops ever been sent to stay or punish " those mobs for their crimes? No! Have we " ever received a dollar for the property we have " been compelled to leave behind? Not a dollar! " Let the Government treat us as we deserve; this " is all we ask of them. We have always been loyal " and expect to so continue; but, *hands off!* Do " not send your armed mobs into our midst. If you " do we will fight you as the Lord lives. Do not " threaten us with what the United States can do, " for we ask no odds of them or their troops. We " have the God of Israel—the God of battles—on " our side; and, let me tell you, gentlemen, we fear " not your armies. I can take a few of the boys " here and, with the help of the Lord, can whip the " whole of the United States. These, my brethren, " put their trust in the God of Israel, and have no " fears. We have proven him and he is our friend. " Boys, how do you feel? Are you afraid of the " United States? (Great demonstration among the

" brethren.) No! No! We are not afraid of man " nor of what he can do.

" The United States are going to destruction as " fast as they can go. If you do not believe it, " gentlemen, you will soon see it to your sorrow. " It will be with them like a broken potsherd. Yes, " it will be like water spilled on the ground, no more " to be picked up.

" Now let me say to you Peace Commissioners, " we are willing those troops should come into our " country but not to stay in our city. They may " pass through it if needs be, but must not quarter " less than 40 miles from us.

' If you bring your troops here to disturb this " people, you have got a bigger job than you or " President Buchanan have any idea of. Before the " troops reach here, this city will be in ashes, every " tree and shrub will be cut to the ground, and " every blade of grass that will burn shall be " burned.

" Our wives and children will go to the canyons, " and take shelter in the mountains; while their " husbands and sons will fight you; and, as God " lives, we will hunt you by night and by day until " your armies are wasted away. No mob can live " in the homes we have built in these mountains. " That's the programme, gentlemen, whether you " like it or not. If you want war you can have it; " but, if you wish peace, peace it is; we shall be " glad of it."

The Commissioners "wished peace;" and the result of their negotiations was embodied in the following note to General Johnston:

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, Utah Ter.,
June 12th, 1858.

DEAR SIR: We have the pleasure of informing you that after a full and free conference with the chief men of the Territory, we are informed by them that they will yield obedience to the constitution and laws of the United States; that they will not resist the execution of the laws in the Territory of Utah; that they cheerfully consent that the civil officers of the Territory shall enter upon the discharge of their respective duties, and that they will make no resistance to the army of the United States in its march to the valley of Salt Lake or elsewhere. We have their assurance that no resistance shall be made to the officers, civil or military, of the United States, in the exercise of their various functions in the Territory of Utah.

The houses, fields and gardens of the people of this Territory, particularly in and about Salt Lake City, are very insecure. The animals of your army would cause great destruction of property if the greatest care should not be observed in the march and the selection of camps. The people of the Territory are somewhat uneasy for fear the army, when it shall reach the valley, will not properly respect their persons and property. We have assured them that neither their persons nor property will be injured or molested by the army under your command.

We would respectfully suggest, in consequence of the feeling of uneasiness, that you issue a proclamation to the people of Utah, stating that the army under your command will not trespass upon the rights or property of peaceable citizens during their sojourn in or march through the Territory. Such a proclamation would greatly allay the existing anxiety and fears of the people, and cause those who have abandoned their homes to return to their houses and farms.

We have made inquiry about grass, wood, &c. necessary for the subsistence and convenience of your army. We have conversed with Mr. Ficklin fully on this subject, and given him all the information we have, which he will impart to you.

We respectfully suggest that you march to the valley as soon as it is convenient for you to do so.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

L. W. POWELL,
BEN MCCULLOUGH, } *Com's to Utah.*

To General A. S. Johnston, commanding Army of Utah, Camp Scott, Utah Territory.

To this came the following reply:

Head-quarters, Department of Utah,
Camp on Bear River, June 14th, 1858.

GENTLEMEN: Your communication from Salt Lake City was received to-day. The accomplishment of the object of your mission entirely in accordance with the instructions of the President, and the wisdom and forbearance which you have so ably displayed to the people of the Territory, will, I hope, lead to a more just appreciation of their relations to the General Government, and the establishment of the supremacy of the laws. I learn with surprise that uneasiness is felt by the people as to the treatment they may receive from the army. Acting under the two-fold obligations of citizens and soldiers, we may be supposed to comprehend the rights of the people, and to be sufficiently mindful of the obligations of our oaths, not to disregard the laws which govern us as a military body. A reference to them will show with what jealous care the General Government has guarded the rights of citizens against any encroachments. The army has duties to perform here in execution of the orders of the Department of War, which, from the nature of them, cannot lead to interference with the people in their varied pursuits; and if no obstruction is presented to the discharge of those duties, there need not be the slightest apprehension that any person whatever will have any cause of complaint.

The army will continue its march from this position on Thursday, 17th instant, and reach the valley in five days. I desire to encamp beyond the Jordan, on the day of arrival in the valley.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

A. S. JOHNSTON,
Colonel Second Cavalry and Brevet Brigadier-General United States Army, Commanding.

To the Hon. L. W. Powell and Major-General McCullough, United States Commissioners to Utah.

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Although a minute statement of the Mormon military force and the methods by which it was turned to good account in the "Utah war," might be of interest to many, it will doubtless satisfy the general reader to simply know that only so much of that force was used as was necessary to effectively carry out President Young's policy, *i. e.*, to harass and retard the advance of the U. S. army until a more peaceful solution of the question at issue could be reached. In the execution of that policy an effective body of scouts was sent forward, with orders of which the following is a sample, which orders were scrupulously obeyed and executed with precisely the results desired:

On ascertaining the locality or route of the troops, proceed at once to annoy them in every possible way. Use every exertion to stampede their animals, and set fire to their trains. Burn the whole country before them and on their flanks. Keep them from sleeping by night surprises. Blockade the road by felling trees, or destroying the fords when you can. Watch for opportunities to set fire to the grass on their windward, so as, if possible, to envelop their trains. Leave no grass before them that can be burned. Keep your men concealed as much as possible, and guard against surprise.

They were also ordered to not "shed blood" if it could possibly be avoided, and then only and strictly in self-defence. Although often fired upon by the soldiers, in no single instance did they return the fire.

# CHAPTER XXI.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE "UTAH WAR." THE REACTION. CURRENT OPINION, AS EXPRESSED BY THE LEADING JOURNALS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

That the Mormons would have fought; that they would, in the language of their leader, have made a "Moscow of Utah, and a Potter's Field of every "canyon," had the United States pushed the issue to extermination, there can be little doubt, knowing how terribly so large a number as 75,000 or 80,000 earnest religionists could have avenged themselves, at that day, in those far-off mountains and valleys.

But the opinion expressed to Van Vliet, relative to the reaction which would come in the public mind over Utah affairs, and his fixed resolve, if possible, to prevent the shedding of blood, as declared in that conversation, and still more emphatically pronounced in all his orders to Lieut.-Gen. Wells, best denote what was Brigham's policy and first desire. True, it had been as much as he could do to keep his people from fighting the "enemy," notwithstanding the "enemy" was the United States. A quarter of a century's injustice had fired them with an indignation that made them feel a superhuman strength. But though the founder of Utah had resolved to conquer the issue, he had no wish to lose the nucleus of a nationality which his people had evolved in their isolation.

Why then this second exodus? Why? It was the very backbone of Brigham's triumph. As great a triumph was in that exodus as in any battle the great Napoleon ever fought. It was in fact the exodus which forced the "reaction." It carried such an overwhelming power that it became like an irresistible impulse in the public mind. Not only was this so with the American people, but it was so with every nation in Europe. Deep sympathy, blended with a mighty admiration, was felt for a people who could at once dare a war with the United States, in defence of their religious cause, and rise to such a towering heroism as to sanctify their act by a universal offering of their homes for sacrifice. This was no common rebellion. These were no unworthy rebels. No rude defiers of "the "powers that be" were they: their act placed them on a level with the men who won the independence of America: their women were fitting mates of the mothers, daughters and sisters of the revolution.

The *London Times* called the Mormons a nation of heroes. It said:

> The intelligence from Utah is confirmatory of the news that came by the last steamer. This strange people are again in motion for a new home, and all the efforts of Governor Cumming to induce the men to remain and limit themselves to the ordinary quota of wives have been fruitless. We are told that they have left a deserted town and deserted fields behind them, and have embarked for a voyage, over 500 miles of untracked desert, to a home, the locality of which is unknown to any

but their chiefs. Does it not seem incredible that, at the very moment when the marine of Great Britain and the United States are jointly engaged in the grandest scientific experiments that the world has yet seen, 30,000 or 40,000 natives of these countries, many of them of industrious and temperate habits, should be the victims of such arrant imposition? Does it not seem impossible that men and women, brought up under British and American civilization, can abandon it for the wilderness and Mormonism? There is much that is noble in their devotion to their delusions. They step into the waves of the great basin with as much reliance on their leaders as the descendants of Jacob felt when they stepped between the walls of water in the red sea. The ancient world had individual Curiatii, Horatii, and other examples of heroism and devotion; but these western peasants seem to be a *nation* of heroes, ready to sacrifice everything rather than surrender one of their wives, or a letter from Joe Smith's golden plates.

The following from the *New York Times* will give a specimen of what the American press generally said upon the subject:

Whatever our opinions may be of Mormon morals or Mormon manners, there can be no question that this voluntary abandonment by 40,000 people of homes created by wonderful industry, in the midst of trackless wastes, after years of hardships and persecution, is something from which no one who has a particle of sympathy with pluck, fortitude and constancy can withhold his admiration. Right or wrong, sincerity thus attested is not a thing to be sneered at. True or false, a faith to which so many men and women prove their loyalty, by such sacrifices, is a force in the world. After this last demonstration of what fanaticism can do, we think it would be most unwise to treat Mormonism as a nuisance to be abated by a *posse commitatus.* It is no longer a social excrescence to be cut off by the sword; it is a power to be combated only by the most skillful political and moral treatment. When people abandon their homes to plunge with women and children into a wilderness, to seek new settlements, they know not where, they give a higher proof of courage than if they fought for them. When the Dutch submerged Holland, to save it from invaders, they had heartier plaudits showered upon them than if they had fertilized its soil with their blood. We have certainly the satisfaction of knowing that we have to deal with foemen worthy of our steel. * * * If the conduct of the recent operations has had the effect of strengthening their fanaticism, by the appearance of persecution, without convincing them of our good faith and good intentions, and worse still, has been the means of driving away 50,000 of our fellow citizens from fields which their labor had reclaimed and cultivated, and around which their affections were clustered, we have something serious to answer for. Were we not guilty of a culpable oversight in confounding their persistent devotion with the insubordination of ribald license, and applying to the one the same harsh treatment which the law intends for the latter alone? Was it right to send troops composed of the wildest and most rebellious men of the community, commanded by men like Harney and Johnston, to deal out fire and sword upon people whose faults even were the result of honest religious convictions? Was it right to allow Johnston to address letters to Brigham Young, and through him to his people, couched in the tone of an implacable conqueror towards ruthless savages? Were the errors which mistaken zeal generates ever cured by such means as these? And have bayonets ever been used against the poorest and weakest sect that ever crouched beyond a wall to pray or weep, without rendering their faith more intense, and investing the paltriest discomforts with the dignity of sacrifice? * * * We stand on the vantage ground of higher knowledge, purer faith and acknowledged strength. We can afford to be merciful. At all events, the world looks to us now for an example of political wisdom such as few people, now-a-days, are called on to display. Posterity must not have to acknowledge with shame that our indiscretion, or ignorance, or intolerance drove the population of a whole State from house and home, to seek religious liberty and immunity from the presence of mercenary troops, in any part of the continent to which our rule was never likely to extend.

The famous African explorer, Captain Burton, of the British army, closing his description of the great man who took his people successfully through that crisis, gives us the following suggestive passage in his "City of the Saints:"

Such is His Excellency, President Brigham Young, "Painter and Glazier" (his earliest craft), prophet, revelator, translator and seer; the man who is revered as king or kaiser, pope or pontiff, never was; who, like the old man of the mountain, by holding up his right hand could cause the death of any man within his reach; who, governing as well as reigning, long stood up to fight with the sword of the Lord, and with his few hundred guerrillas, against the then mighty power of the United States; who has outwitted all diplomacy opposed to him; and, finally, who made a treaty of peace with the President of the great Republic, as though he had wielded the combined power of France, Russia and England.

## CHAPTER XXII.

THE MARCH OF THE TROOPS INTO SALT LAKE CITY. RETURN OF THE PEOPLE TO THEIR HOMES. TREACHERY OF THE JUDGES. MALICIOUS PROSECUTIONS. A REQUISITION MADE BY THE COURT UPON GENERAL JOHNSTON FOR TROOPS. THE GOVERNOR PROTESTS. THE MILITARY POWER FRUSTRATED IN THE ATTEMPT TO ARREST BRIGHAM YOUNG. COURAGEOUS ATTITUDE OF GOVERNOR CUMMING. MORMON LOYALTY. JOHNSTON'S ARMY ORDERED TO THE POTOMAC. EVACUATION OF CAMP FLOYD.

Substantially the word of Brigham Young was fulfilled, in that he had said an invading army should not enter the city.

General Johnston and his army came not as conquerors into Zion. The entire chain of circumstances, from the start of their expedition, had been most humiliating to the brave men who deserved better service. Their march had been but a series of disasters and failures.

They were merely permitted to pass through the streets of Salt Lake City on their way to a location in the Territory well removed from the Mormon people. Zion was a forsaken city that day. The Saints were still south with their great leader. If faith was not kept with them, they did not intend to return, and war would have been re-opened in deadly earnest.

It was a sad spectacle to see a community of earnest religionists who could not trust in the parent power, even after the proclamation of the President. But the history of the Mormons to this hour shows a constant justification of this lack of confidence.

On the 13th of June, the army commenced its movement towards the city; and, on the morning of the 26th, it may have been seen advancing from the mouth of Emigration Canyon to make what once was expected to have been a triumphal entrance into conquered Zion, with all "the pomp and "circumstance of glorious war." Here is the picture of it as it was, from the pen of an army correspondent:

> It was one of the most extraordinary scenes that have occurred in American history. All day long, from dawn until after sunset, the troops and trains poured through the city, the utter silence of the streets being broken only by the music of the military bands, the monotonous tramp of the regiments, and the rattle of the baggage wagons. Early in the morning the Mormon guards had forced all their fellow religionists into the houses, and ordered them not to make their appearance during the day. The numerous flags that had been flying from staffs on the public buildings during the previous week were all struck. The only visible groups of spectators were on the corners near Brigham Young's residence, and consisted almost entirely of gentile civilians. The stillness was so profound that during the intervals between the passage of the columns,

the monotonous gurgle of the city creek struck on every ear. The Commissioners rode with the General's staff. The troops crossed the Jordan and encamped two miles from the city, on a dusty meadow by the river bank.

But the army correspondent did not properly construe the death-like stillness and desertion of the city, when he says the Mormon guard had "forced "all their fellow religionists into their houses." They were not in their houses, but in the second exodus. It is estimated that there were no less than 30,000 of the Mormon people from the city and northern settlements in "the move south." They took with them their flocks and herds, their chattels and furniture. When that army marched through the streets of Zion, grass was growing on the side-walks, and there were only a few of "the boys" left on the watch in the city, to see that the people were not betrayed. Some of the officers were deeply moved by the scene and the circumstances. Lieutenant-Colonel Phillip St. George Cooke, who had commanded the Mormon battalion in the Mexican war, rode through the city with uncovered head, leading the troops, but forgetting not his respect for the brave Mormon soldiers who had so nobly served with him in their country's cause.

Cedar Valley, forty miles west of the city, was chosen as their permanent camping place, which was named Camp Floyd, in honor of the then Secretary of War.

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Return we now to the Saints in their flight. It had taxed their faith and their means to an absolute consecration of their all, and called forth as much religious heroism as did their first exodus from Nauvoo. Gallant old Governor Cumming was almost distracted over this Mormon episode. He was not used to the self-sacrifices and devotion of the peculiar people whom he had taken under his official guardianship. They were more familiar than he with this part of their eventful drama. Familiarity had bred in them a kind of contempt for their own sufferings and privations. So they witnessed their new Governor's concern for them with a stoical humor. They were, indeed, grateful, but amused. They could not feel to deserve his pity, yet were they thankful for his sympathy. They sang psalms by the wayside. He felt like strewing their path with tears. He followed them fifty miles south, praying them, as would a father his wayward children, to turn back. But the father whom they knew best was leading them on.

" There is no longer danger. General Johnston " and the army will keep faith with the Mormons. " Every one concerned in this happy settlement will " hold sacred the amnesty and pardon of the " President of the United States ! By G—d, sirs, " Yes."

Such was the style of Governor Cumming's pleadings with the " misguided " Mormons. But Brigham and his chiefs replied with a quiet fixedness of purpose:

" We know all about it, Governor. We remember the martyrdoms of the past ! "

" 'Twas madness for the people to thus forsake "their homes." So thought their good Governor. "None would be so base as to desecrate the family "hearth, or to outrage the purity of the wives and "daughters of Mormondom."

But the answer came in the words and actions of Brigham Young:

"We are leaving our homes that they may be "preserved—that our sacrifice, like that of Abra-"ham, may be accepted, not consumed. We have, "on just such occasions, seen our disarmed men hewn "down in cold blood, our virgin daughters violated, "our wives ravished to death before our eyes. We "know all about it, Governor Cumming."

It was a terrible logic that thus met the brave mediation of the fine old Georgian successor of Governor Young, who coupled patriotism with humanity, and believed in the primitive faith that American citizens and American homes must be held sacred.

Brigham Young alone could turn the tidal wave, and lead back the Mormon people to their homes. Had he continued onward to Sonora, Central America, anywhere—to the ends of the earth—his people would have followed him.

The Mormon leaders, with the body of the Church, were at Provo on the evening of the 4th of July; General Johnston and his army being about to take up their quarters at Camp Floyd. It was on that evening that Governor Cumming informed his predecessor that he should publish a proclamation to the Mormons for their return to their homes.

"Do as *you* please, Governor Cumming," replied

Brigham, with a quiet smile. "To-morrow I shall "get upon the tongue of my wagon, and tell the "people that *I* am going home, and they can do as "*they* please."

On the morning of the 5th, Brigham announced to the people that he was going to start for Salt Lake City; they were at liberty to follow him to their various settlements, as they pleased. In a few hours nearly all were on their homeward march.

But scarcely had the people returned to their homes, ere they had abundant proof how much they could have trusted a united Federal power, in an anti-Mormon crusade, with an army at its service to subvert the civil and religious liberties of the people.

The machinery of the Federal power was soon set in motion. Chief Justice Eckles took up his quarters at Camp Floyd; Associate Justice Sinclair was assigned to the district embracing Salt Lake City; and Associate Justice Cradlebaugh was assigned to the judicial supervision of all the southern settlements; and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Jacob Forney, and Alexander Wilson, Territorial District Attorney, entered upon the discharge of their duties.

The Governor from the beginning assumed a pacific attitude, in which he was seconded by Superintendent Forney and District-Attorney Wilson. But the three Judges, in concert with the marshal, united in the prosecution of past offences that had naturally arisen out of the condition of hostility, just brought to a happy and peaceful issue. It is needless to add that although these prosecutions were conducted with great vigor, they were justly fruitless of results.

In the course of one of these prosecutions, Judge Cradlebaugh made a requisition upon General Johnston for troops to act as protection to certain witnesses, and also, in the absence of a jail, to serve as a guard over the prisoners. The Mayor of Provo protested that the presence of the military was an infringement upon the liberties of his fellow-citizens; but the Judge answered that he had well considered the request before he had made it. A petition was sent to Governor Cumming, and he asked General Johnston to withdraw the troops, asserting that the Court had no authority to call for the aid of the military, except through him. The Judges interpreted General Johnston's instructions from the War Department adversely to the statement of the Governor, and the troops were continued at Provo. On the 27th of March (1859), the Governor issued a proclamation protesting against the continuance of the troops at Provo, taking open ground against the action of the military commander.

About this time was concocted a conspiracy to arrest Brigham Young on the "State's evidence" of a rogue who had been employed by some counterfeiters to engrave a bogus plate for printing certain blank drafts used by the U. S. Army Quartermaster. But Governor Cumming stoutly resisted the attempted outrage, and the military officers entrusted with its perpetration returned to Camp Floyd discomfited. Immediately the news was circulated that General Johnston would send two regiments of troops and a battery of artillery to enforce the writ for the apprehension of Brigham. Governor Cumming promptly notified General Daniel H. Wells to hold the Utah militia in readiness to act on orders. This was on a Sunday evening. By ten o'clock on Monday morning five thousand troops were under arms. Had the United States forces attempted to enter the city the struggle would have commenced, for the Governor was determined to carry out his instructions.

Happily at this juncture an official letter from Washington decided that the military could only be used as a *posse* on a call from the Governor; and thus the matter ended without a collision, and Governor Cumming became thoroughly established in authority, receiving the cordial support of the people, and the respectful consideration of his Federal associates.

It was an undisguised fact that, up to this time, the Federal judges had diligently sought to violate the Presidential amnesty and betray the people. It was the uncompromising integrity and honor of Governor Cumming alone that saved the Territory from a bloody collision between the citizens and soldiers.

But, while this conspiracy of the judges was being enacted, the Mormons did the best they could to prove to the nation that they had returned to their loyalty, even accepting the view that they had been in rebellion. At the very moment the conspiracy was at its height, soon after the attempt of the military, instigated by the judges, to arrest Brigham Young, the Lieut.-General of the Utah militia issued the following:

Special Order No. 2.

Head-quarters, Nauvoo Legion,
Adjutant-General's Office, G. S. L. City.
July 1st, 1859.

Monday, the 4th, will be the eighty-third anniversary of the birth of American freedom. It is the duty of every American citizen to commemorate the great event; not in a boisterous revelry, but with heart full of gratitude to Almighty God the Great Father of our rights.

The Lieutenant-General directs for the celebration in the city as follows:

1st.—At sunrise a salute of thirteen guns will be fired, commencing near the residence of His Excellency the Governor, to be answered from a point on South Temple Street, near the residence of President Brigham Young.

The national flag will be hoisted at the signal from the first gun, simultaneously at the residence of Governor Cummings and President Young, at the office of the Territorial Secretary, and the residence of the United States Attorney. Captain Pitt's band will be stationed at sunrise opposite the residence of Governor Cummings, and Captain Ballo's band opposite the residence of President Young.

At the hoisting of the flags the bands will play the "Star Spangled Banner."

2d.—After the morning salute the guns will be parked at the Court House till noon, when a salute of 33 guns will be fired.

3d.—At sunset a salute of five guns, in honor of the Territories, will be fired, and the flags lowered.

4th.—For the above service Lieutenant Atwood and two platoons of artillery will be detailed. Two six-pounder iron guns will be used for the salutes. Also a first-lieutenant and two platoons of the 1st cavalry will be detailed as a guard, and continue on guard through the day. The whole detachment will be dismissed after the sunset salute.

5th.—Col. J. C. Little, of the General's staff, will perform the duties of marshal of the day, with permission to select such deputies as he may require to assist him. The Declaration of Independence will be read by him from the steps of the courthouse at noon.

6th.—The bands and the services to be performed by them will be under the direction of Col. Duzette. By order of

Lieut.-Gen. Daniel H. Wells,
Adjt.-Gen. James Ferguson.

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As might be expected, the great civil war, precipitated at this time, between the North and the South, gave to Utah the opportunity for a unique example in her conduct. She had herself just been in rebellion; how would she now act? This was a most natural question, and, strange to say, her answer was almost the reverse of the general pronouncement of what she would do.

And here it might be said that it matters not to the integrity of history whether or not the Mormons be understood by others, as long as they act consistently with themselves, and their own faith in their religious and national mission. We have just seen that on the very first occasion after the "Utah rebellion," as we will style it to illustrate the example, they made haste to re-assert their faith in the constitution and the Union, by celebrating the day of American independence very much with the same intention as though they had sent a manifesto to the States of their views and conduct. And just in keeping with this was the pronouncement of the Mormon leaders upon secession at its very birth, as the accompanying fourth of July military order will suggest:

HEAD QUARTERS, NAUVOO LEGION,
G. S. L. City, June 25th, 1861.

GENERAL ORDERS, NO. I.

1.—Thursday, the 4th of July, being the eighty-fifth anniversary of American independence; notwithstanding the turmoil and strife which distress the nation established on that foundation, the citizens of Utah esteem it a privilege to celebrate the day in a manner becoming American patriots and true lovers of the constitution of their country.

2.—The Lieut.-General directs that district commanders throughout the Territory will conform, as far as practicable, to the requisitions of the various committees of arrangements for details.

3.—In Great Salt Lake City, at the request of the committee of arrangements, the following details will be made, and placed under the direction of Major John Sharpe, marshal of the day, viz.:

One company of the 1st, and one of the 3d regiments of infantry.

One company of light artillery, and two guns.

Two brass bands and one martial band.

By order of
Lieut.-Gen. D. H. WELLS,
JAMES FERGUSON, Adjt.-Gen.

This military manifesto, just after the national flag had been fired upon at Fort Sumter, meant simply that Utah was going to stand by the Union and the constitution—or, as the Mormons would express it, in good apostolic language—they had resolved to "stick to the old ship Zion."

General Albert Sidney Johnston and his army were ordered from Utah to the Potomac, and in the early Autumn of 1861 the troops marched eastward. Thus ended President Buchanan's military expedition against the Mormons. They had been as Philistines to modern Israel. What would they be to the South? They had gone up against Zion with the noise of battle, but "The Lord had "given them into the hands of his people."

But the service upon which General Johnston was now ordered, was more congenial to his soldiers, and worthier his military genius than was the crusade upon a God-fearing people. True, he joined the South, refusing to maintain the Union and the constitution; yet he certainly proved himself a great general, and won for himself a national fame.

Before evacuating Camp Floyd General Johnston destroyed all of the ordnance and ammunition of the post, a proceeding quite in keeping with the entire extravaganza of the Utah war, from the beginning to the end. Perhaps this afterwards famous Confederate general, before his departure from Utah, had revised his views of the secession proclivities of Brigham Young. At least, if he could not understand the apostolic motives which moved the Mormons and their great leader, he might have discovered that they were not the people to make war upon the constitution and the Union.

# CHAPTER XXIII.

**CHANGE IN THE PERSONNEL OF THE FEDERAL OFFICES. THE MORRISITE TRAGEDY. MORE OFFICIALS. THE CALIFORNIA VOLUNTEERS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF CAMP DOUGLAS. ARREST OF PRESIDENT YOUNG. MIDNIGHT ALARMS. HARMONY RESTORED BY A CHANGE OF FEDERAL OFFICIALS.**

The change of Federal administration incident to the election of Abraham Lincoln, in due course gave to Utah a new set of Federal officials. Excepting the Governor, these proved to be more acceptable to the people than their predecessors had been. Indeed, it is no more than just to here record that, notwithstanding the anti-Mormon attitude of the political party that elevated Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, his course towards Utah was uniformly considerate.

After the departure of Johnston's army, the ordinary current of Utah affairs was not disturbed by any event of special historical interest, until in the Spring of 1862, when occurred the somewhat famous Morrisite schism and tragedy.

Joseph Morris, a Mormon of some talent, originally from Wales, becoming possessed with a mania, set himself up as a new prophet, with claims transcending those of the founders of the Church. Attracting to himself a considerable following, a colony of Morrisites was duly established on the Weber River. Dissensions soon arose, however, and when certain of the dissenters endeavored to appropriate what they considered an equitable share of the community property, and retire from the colony, they were restrained by their former companions and imprisoned. Their friends sought the aid of the sheriff of the county to effect their release, but the Morrisites offered a well-organized and armed resistance. Resort was then had to the courts, and Chief Justice Kinney, in answer to a petition therefor, issue a writ of *habeas corpus*, and instructed the Territorial marshal to serve the same upon the belligerent Morrisites. But it, and a second writ also, was disregarded, and Governor Fuller, at the instance of the Chief Justice, ordered out a body of militia, to act as the marshal's *posse*, to protect and assist him in enforcing the order of the Court.

The marshal's *posse* left Salt Lake City on the 12th of June, and on the morning following moved to within a short distance of the Morrisite settlement, and sent in to them the following proclamation:

HEAD-QUARTERS, MARSHAL'S POSSE,
Weber River, June 13, 1862.

*To Joseph Morris, John Banks, Richard Cook, John Parsons and Peter Klemguard:*

Whereas, you have heretofore disregarded and defied the judicial officer and laws of the Territory of Utah, and

Whereas, certain writs have been issued for you from the Third Judicial Court of said Territory, and a sufficient force furnished by the executive of the same to enforce the law:

This is, therefore, to notify you to peaceably and quietly surrender yourselves, and the persons in your custody, forthwith.

An answer is required within thirty minutes after the receipt of this notice; if not, forcible means will be taken for your arrest.

Should you disregard the proposition, and place your lives in jeopardy, you are hereby required to remove your women and children, and all persons peaceably disposed are hereby notified to forthwith leave your encampment, and are informed by this proclamation that they can find protection with this *posse.*

H. W. LAWRENCE, *Territorial Marshal,*
By R. T. BURTON and
THEODORE McKEAN, *Deputies.*

The proclamation being ignored, the *posse* subsequently moved forward, when a volley of musketry from the Morrisites forced them to cover. Desultory firing was engaged in by both parties during the day, and one member of the *posse*—Jared Smith—was killed. The next day being stormy, no move was made; but, on the third day (Sunday) another forward movement was made, and sharp firing was exchanged, resulting in the death of J. P. Whiplin of the *posse.* Toward night a flag of truce was raised by the Morrisites, and a large number of them threw down their arms. Supposing the surrender to be general, Marshal Burton and others of the *posse* entered the Morrisite defences, whereupon Morris treacherously ordered a resumption of hostilities, and in the *melee* which followed, he (Morris) and a man by the name of Banks were killed. With the release of the prisoners and the death of Morris ended the Morrisite movement.

The number of casualties amounted to eight—two of the *posse* and six of their opponents. This fact is strikingly opposed to the impression evidently sought to be conveyed by several anti-Mormon historians. A three day's skirmish with such insignificant results in the matter of casualties can by no reasonable method be elevated into the consequence of an unnecessary slaughter, much less a massacre.

About this time the retirement of Governor Dawson and the Associate Justices made way for Governor Harding and Justices Waite and Drake, who were appointed to succeed them. These three resolved themselves into an implacable anti-Mormon clique, and were barely prevented doing much mischief by the just course of Chief Justice Kinney and Secretary Fuller, coupled with the wary movements of Brigham Young.

Whatever may have been the prevailing impression as to what course Utah would take in consequence of the great civil war—whether she would join the Confederacy or strike for independence, or loyally adhere to the cause of the Union—the country was not long kept in doubt, for she promptly applied for admission as a State of the Union. A striking illustration was thus given of the difference between a grand constitutional assertion and defence of the people's rights inside the Union —such as Utah had just made—and the national crime of secession.

But it seems to have been inconsistent with the national estimate of Mormon honor and fidelity to accept either their application for admission to the Union as a State, or the loyal sentiment which that movement expressed. A military surveillance was therefore determined upon.

Col. Connor, who had raised the 3d Regiment of California Infantry, in the expectation of doing service at the seat of war, was, with his regiment, ordered to Utah, ostensibly to protect the overland mail route and telegraph line from Indian depredations. It became at once apparent, however, that the real object of that disposition of them was to watch the Mormons.

On the 20th of October, 1862, the California volunteers reached Salt Lake City, and on the evening of the same day established "Camp Douglas" on the "bench" eastward of, and near, the town.

The coming of those volunteers to plant their guns over against the Mormon capital was very properly looked upon as a menace from the General Government, and naturally became a subject of irritation to the people. At about this time also occurred the passage in Congress of the anti-Polygamic bill. All this in view of the record that the Mormons had just made! They had not only loyally served the Government that year by protecting the overland mail from Indian depredations, but their Senators elect were even then knocking at the door of the national capitol for the admission of Utah as a State of the Union.

It is entirely proper to state that Colonel Connor, at that time, interpreted his "mission" to be that of an aggressor upon the established practices of the people, and he lost no time in setting about his "duty." By the publication of a newspaper at Camp Douglas, and by concerted action with Governor Harding and the Associate Justices, he contributed considerable strength to the determined assault then made upon the theocracy of Mormondom in general, and upon the great personal influence of Brigham Young in particular.

The natural reflex of this assault expressed itself in the form of a grand protesting mass meeting, held in the tabernacle, March 3d, 1863, from which was enthusiastically issued a petition for the removal of the over-zealous and aggressive officials. A committee was appointed to wait upon Governor Harding and Justices Waite and Drake, to ask them to resign. This they refused to do, and the above-mentioned petition was sent to President Lincoln. A counter petition was gotten up by Colonel Connor and his officers; and, pending action by the President, several collisions between the people and the soldiers were barely prevented.

About this time President Young was arrested, on civil process, for the offence of polygamy. The grand jury refused to indict him, however, and the prosecution fell to the ground.

Two general alarms also occurred to break the monotony of the times; one on the occasion of a movement from Camp Douglas to arrest several leading citizens, when, in the dead of night, "all hands" were called to arms; the other, when on the reception at Camp Douglas of the news that Col. Connor had been brevetted a Brigadier-General for gallantry in a recent expedition against the Indians, the whole camp turned out at midnight and made the "welkin ring" with cannonading, musketry, music, &c., in honor of the event. Although this unique demonstration filled the city with apprehension, and again brought out the citizen soldiery in hot haste, it is scarcely proper to now look back upon the matter with any thought of censure. The soldiers of the camp simply thought to markedly display their appreciation of the honor conferred upon their commander, and the blushing Colonel may reasonably be supposed to have been modestly overwhelmed, to the exclusion of any thought of the alarm that the noisy demonstration was spreading in the adjacent city.

No wonder that in view of these events some belligerent speech was indulged in. Indeed, how natural that the representative Mormon should feel the competency of his fellows to "use up Camp "Douglas before breakfast," and that the button-bedecked embodiment of the dignity of the American Republic should retort that his fellows could "riddle Mormondom" in the time ordinarily required by a lamb to "whisk his tail."

The removal, shortly thereafter, of Gov. Harding, Secretary Fuller and Judge Kinney, was the signal for a better state of things between Camp Douglas and the city. James Duane Doty was appointed to take Gov. Harding's place, and it is proper to say that he made an excellent and acceptable Governor. Amos Reed was appointed to fill the place of the retiring Secretary, and John Titus was appointed to the Chief Justiceship.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE RAISED BY THE MORMONS THE FORERUNNER OF THE NATIONAL CONTROVERSY RESULTING IN CIVIL WAR. UTAH AND THE SOUTH RADICALLY ASSOCIATED IN THE CHICAGO PLATFORM. JOSEPH SMITH'S REMARKABLE PROPHECY. THE LOYALTY OF THE MORMONS. UTAH NEUTRAL IN THE CONTROVERSY. BRIGHAM YOUNG'S JUDGMENT UPON THE FRATRICIDAL WAR. HOW THE MORMONS REGARD SECESSION. RETROSPECTION. REFLECTION. PREDICATION.

At no time during the Utah war had Brigham Young acted or spoken as a man in the wrong; but as a great leader of a people, maintaining a constitutional cause. True, he had been bold enough in his assurance of Divine support to do this, though it should seem as a grand rebuke to the whole United States. And, in this, his conduct was truly apostolic. Generations hence it will be spoken of as one of the marvels of history. That Utah war will not be predicated upon anything so ridiculous as the burning of a few library books, but will be viewed as a grand assertion of States rights and the principles of self-government.

And mark how soon after the Mormons had tested their constitutional cause it became a national controversy in which the whole United States were involved. It was, in seeming, altogether outside the Mormon question, but, in reality, it was deep within its very heart. The case, indeed, is well expressed in the Mormon adage that "judg-" ment begins at the house of the Lord."

Scarcely had the Utah war closed ere, while yet the troops sent to conquer Mormondom lay at Camp Floyd in inglorious discontent, the great eruption came between the North and the South. It was as though that supreme intending of national events, which the American tact has so happily hit off as "manifest destiny," had worked up quickly, one after the other, two famous examples. First, it was the vital question of the nation *concealed* in the Mormon question, and next, that same question exposed throughout the entire Union in one of the most terrible civil wars that the world has ever seen. It was the same national controversy in both cases.

That conflict was over the fundamental question of the right of States and Territories to evolve their respective commonwealths, and maintain their own social and domestic institutions, responsible to the Federal Government or to a sectional determination of the States only so far as consistent with the original Federal compact.

It was Utah that opened this great national controversy upon fundamental principles. It was a controversy that spread over North and South, giving life and superhuman fury to the civil war. It is a controversy more radical to-day than when

Richmond fell; and it is a controversy that may not find a satisfactory settlement for a quarter of a century to come.

With the exception of the slavery question and the policy of secession, the South stood upon the same ground that Utah had stood upon just previously. True, she had no intention to follow any example set by Utah, for old and powerful States, which had ranked first in the Union from the very foundation of the nation, would not have taken Utah as their example. Yet this very fact, coupled with the stupendous view of North and South engaged in deadly conflict, shows how fundamental was the cause which Utah maintained, and how pregnant were the times with a common national issue. Moreover, with that view before us, Brigham Young stands not only justified, but his conduct claims extraordinary admiration, for he led his people safely through that controversy without secession.

And here we reach the heart of the Mormon policy and aims. Secession is not in it. Their issues are all inside the Union. The Mormon prophecy is, that that people are destined to save the Union, and preserve the constitution. Joseph Smith uttered it, and for the last thirty years Brigham Young has been its practical exponent.

The North, which had just risen to power through the triumph of the republican party, occupied the exact position towards the South that Buchanan's administration had held towards Utah. And the salient points of resemblance between the two cases were so striking, that Utah and the South became radically associated in the Chicago platform that brought the republican party into office. Slavery and polygamy—the "twin relics of barbarism"—were made the two chief planks of the party platform. Yet neither of these were the real ground of the conflict. It continues still, and some of the soundest men of the times believe that it will be ultimately re-opened in a revolution so general that nearly every man in America will become involved in the action.

The war between the North and the South came. The Mormons had foretold it thirty years before, and had published the prophecy broadcast, both in America and Europe. Here is the singular and remarkable prophecy of Joseph Smith, which, though measurably fulfilled, evidently still foreshadows future events:

### REVELATION GIVEN DECEMBER 25TH, 1832.

Verily thus saith the Lord concerning the wars that will shortly come to pass, beginning at the rebellion of South Carolina, which will eventually terminate in the daeth and misery of many souls.

The day will come that war will be poured out upon all nations, beginning at that place; for, behold the Southern States shall be divided against the Northern States, and the Southern States will call on other nations, even the nation of Great Britain, as it is called, and they shall also call on other nations in order to defend themselves against other nations; and thus war shall be poured out upon all nations. And it shall come to pass, after many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters who shall be marshaled and disciplined for war. And it shall come to pass, also, that the remnants who are left of the land will marshal themselves, and shall become exceedingly angry, and shall vex the gentiles with a sore vexation; and thus with the sword, and by bloodshed, the inhabitants of the earth shall mourn; and with famine and plague and earthquakes, and the thunder of heaven, and the fierce and vivid lightning also, shall the inhabitants of the earth be made to feel the wrath and indignation and chastening hand of an Almighty God, until the consumption decreed hath made a full end of all nations; that the cry of the Saints, and of the blood of the Saints, shall cease to come up into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, from the earth, to be avenged of their enemies. Wherefore, stand ye in holy places, and be not moved, until the day of the Lord come; for behold it cometh quickly, saith the Lord. Amen!

There now had come, in this conflict between the North and the South, an opportunity for Utah, by her conduct, to more perfectly define her cause, and for the Mormon leaders to show their integrity in the treatment of a constitutional issue. They had now the chance to set forth to all the world an example of loyalty or disloyalty to the Union and the principles of the Republic, yet, from their own standpoint, and consistently with their former action.

The North, and the South too, had a corresponding opportunity, for both had been united in their treatment of the Mormons, notwithstanding they were about to settle, as between each other, the same vital question. The North stood firm to the Union, but it waged war against State rights, in favor of the "National Idea," which has at length assumed very much the form of centralization within the Federal Government of powers and rights originally belonging to the States, which centralization cannot but be repugnant to a republican genius. On her part the South committed the national crime of seceding from the Union, though she, with marked consistency, maintained States rights, without which republican confederation is the merest farce. Utah, on her part, kept out of the controversy, going neither with the North nor with the South, yet remaining true to the Union and the constitution. She believed, in fact, that neither the North nor the South was wholly right. The North was wrong in making war against the very genius of the Republic, and the domestic institutions of States which had entered into the Federal compact with those institutions in existence, and the South was quite as wrong in firing upon the national flag and severing the Union. The conduct of Utah was a nobler example than that of any of the States or Territories, and her course more consistent with the great charter and covenant of the nation.

The judgment of Brigham Young upon our fratricidal war, is strikingly illustrated in an often repeated anti-Mormon report of one of his expressions. He is said to have told the Government, in very plain language, that he would "see it in h— " first, before a man should march from Utah to aid " in the suppression of the rebellion." Possibly he did express himself to that effect. But this meant precisely what has been just shown—that he had no patriotic sympathy with a war in which brothers were become deadly foes, and in which States that had been for nearly a century united in a common cause, stood now arrayed against each other on the battle field. That determination was like Brigham Young, and it showed at once the great statesman and the self-reliant patriot. It suggests that had he been President he would neither have allowed a rebellion nor Federal aggression upon the institutions and rights of the Southern States.

But, had the cause been a different one—a foreign invasion, or a war to maintain the institutions of the Republic, judging from the immortal example which he gave in the exodus, when he sent over five hundred of his best men into the service of the nation in the war with Mexico, Brigham Young would have given, in his subsequent days of strength, at least five thousand, with a patriotic will. Indeed, though the Mormons do not believe in prosecuting their own mission by the sword, it is exactly this grand occasion to defend the institutions of the Republic, that they have for forty years anticipated with such prophetic enthusiasm. When the day comes the Mormons will not be found wanting. But they never will be found with secession, nor in arms to subvert the rights of kindred States by the establishment of a military despotism.

Another capital illustration was given by Utah. It was when General Albert Sidney Johnston withdrew his army at the outbreak of the rebellion, and went with its remnant into the disunion cause. His conduct, and the conduct of Buchanan's Government, certainly did seem inconsistent, but Johnston was patriotic from his point of view, and certainly became an illustrious general. Honorably remembered, he rests in a soldier's grave.

A fitting accompaniment to the example of the

Utah army under General Johnston going into the rebellion was that of Utah herself seeking admission into the Union. Nor was this at the close of the war, but in the Spring of 1862, when it was thought by no inconsiderable portion of the world that the issues of the war would be won by the South. It was universally understood that the sympathies of France and England were with the Southern Confederacy. The South did call upon Great Britain to help her, as Joseph Smith had predicted, and Great Britain came near lending that help, as was betrayed by the uncertainty which she manifested.

The famous Alabama arbitration between the two Governments, since the close of the war, has brought to light how much Great Britain, by her sympathies and the unacknowledged aid of her people, became a partner with the South. In the American statement of the case, on the basis of the Washington Treaty, the count of "consequential claims" made Great Britain responsible for the continuance of the war after the battle of Bull Run. Nothing can be more certain than that had Palmerston joined Louis Napoleon in a joint recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and acknowledged officially the well-known sympathies of the people of England towards the South, Great Britain and France must have been brought into the war. In such a case, it would seem that victory must have perched upon the banners of the South.

Now it was with just this view before them that the Mormons again sought admission into the

Union as a State. Nor was this a hypocritical policy, but another striking assertion of their political principles and loyalty to the constitution and the Union. Brigham Young and his compeers who are proud that so many of their sires were among the men who founded this nation, and then, in a later generation, won for it independence, hold, as we see in every view, that the South committed a grave error in seceding. They affirm that the Southern States should have fought out their issue inside the Union, and under the sanction of the constitution. They did wrong, the Mormons think, in setting up a new confederacy, and firing upon the old flag, thus tarnishing the bright integrity of their cause. They should have stood upon the broad platform of States rights, and wrapped the time-honored flag around them, and they would have been invulnerable. The Mormons had done this themselves, and had just come out of their struggle for constitutional rights victoriously, and the same conduct has made them invulnerable to this day. Indeed, Brigham Young had been so careful upon this point that he dared, as the record exhibits, to treat the United States army, sent against Utah, as an unconstitutional force, making war upon a loyal Territory, and proclaimed that the Government was traitorously subverting the constitution. True, it was a strange act, but it gave to Brigham Young all the advantages of the argument, and Buchanan was forced, practically, to admit it. A wonderful instance is this, that the right is always the strongest, when well pressed to the issue, though ten thousand to one be against it;

especially in a republican country, where the rights of the individual citizen are simply the rights of the million. The Mormon never would have admitted that he was a traitor or a rebel, though he had come to the issue of arms, but would have fought for the constitution and its guarantees to the last.

The Mormon view of the great national controversy, then, is, that the southern States should have done precisely what Utah did, and placed themselves on the defensive ground of their rights and institutions, as old as the Union. Had they placed themselves under the political leadership of Brigham Young, they would have triumphed, for their cause was fundamentally right; their secession alone was the national crime.

There are fundamental reasons, too, as previously instanced, why Brigham Young and the Mormons stand upon the cause of the Union and the constitution. They do not endorse secession, either as a national consent or as a successful policy for any party; they believe that God is with the Union and the constitution, and they believe, moreover, that the time will come when God will call the Mormon people to save both. Should the emergency ever arise, may we not hope for a glorious and happy issue, even though accomplished according to the words of the Mormon prophet?

# CHAPTER XXV.

THE NATION'S GRIEF OVER THE DEATH OF LINCOLN FINDS SYMPATHETIC RESPONSE IN UTAH. VISIT OF THE COLFAX PARTY. THEY ARE CALLED UPON BY BRIGHAM YOUNG AND THE APOSTLES, AND SERENADED BY THE PEOPLE. SPEECHES BY COLFAX, BROSS AND RICHARDSON.

The assassination of President Lincoln produced a profound sensation in the minds of the entire Mormon people, especially among the leaders of the Church. At the first receipt of the dreadful news the soldiers (there was now a provost guard established in the city) seemed ready to vent their fury on the citizens, but even the rudest of them soon appreciated that for once they had done injustice to the Mormons, in imagining that they would sympathize with that crowning infamy. The people too keenly felt the memory of their own martyrs not to be most genuinely affected by the stroke which had given to the nation a martyr so pure, in his life and in his patriotism, as was Abraham Lincoln. Besides, in spite of the pledge of his party to an anti-Mormon crusade, President Lincoln had not been unfriendly to the Mormon people.

In the tabernacle, a united Mormon and Gentile service was held, in honor of the illustrious dead, and a number of orations were delivered eulogizing his character and lauding his virtues.

On the inauguration of President Lincoln, there had been a fraternization between the city and the camp, and now again all were united in a fraternal gathering for the purpose of mourning a common loss. From that day the barriers between soldier and citizen have gradually crumbled away, and the past few years have witnessed many interchanges of courtesies, cordially rendered.

Next came a prominent event, in the matter of the visit of Schuyler Colfax and party. It will be remembered that the tour of the then Speaker of the House, in a semi-official character, to familiarize the Government with the condition and rapid growth of the Pacific States and Territories, created quite a national sensation. The death of Lincoln had thrown Colfax into an enlarged prominence before the nation, and for some time there was prospect of his reaching the Presidential chair. His visit, therefore, to Salt Lake, was an interesting event, for it was at once appreciated that the impression made upon him by this visit would largely shape the policy of the Government towards Utah.

On the 11th of June, 1865, Speaker Colfax, Lieut.-Governor Bross, of Illinois, Albert D. Richardson, of the *New York Tribune*, and Samuel Bowles, of the *Springfield Republican*, made their entrance into the valley of the Great Salt Lake, where they were met by a committee of the municipal authorities and influential citizens, and welcomed to the hospitalities of the city.

But the Speaker of the House stood upon his dignity. Esteeming himself a chief representative of the nation, he did not think it becoming his national importance to call first on Brigham Young. This was expressed, and President Young was fully informed of the mountain of etiquette that burdened the spirit of the honorable Speaker. There could be no doubt that he wished to see the Prophet. To have gone away without seeing him would have taken away half the relish of the visit. So Brigham, in company with several apostles, humored him.

The interview that followed was unconstrained and pleasant.

Polygamy, of course, was the great topic. The marvels that the Mormons had created in the Desert were freely confessed; but the peculiar institution,—that was something which the sensitive morals of the Speaker could not tolerantly contemplate, although he strongly advocated miscegenation!

"Your people must come into harmony with the "nation!" said he, bringing the point home to the President. "You must do away with polygamy."

But Brigham answered with native simplicity. What could he do in the matter? If it was a difficulty with Mr. Colfax, it was a greater difficulty with himself, as the Moses of his people. If Congress had been in travail over the many-wived question, so, also, had Mormondom. It was none of Brigham's business only as a disciple. 'Twas the Lord's concern. He had revealed the order of celestial marriage to Joseph. There was the end of all controversy.

The party was generously entertained by a number of prominent elders, and on the Monday after their arrival they were serenaded by Professor Thomas' brass band. Of course the music of Zion brought the distinguished visitors out to receive the acclamations of the people. They were introduced to the multitude by Judge Kinney, and in response to the popular request addressed the citizens from the balcony of their hotel.

No doubt it was evident to Mr. Colfax and his friends that the welcome was most cordial and sincere, and, for the time being, he seemed to have given way to the happifying influences of Zion. In listening to his speech that night, one could almost have fancied that the distinguished visitor had become already half converted to the new faith. His suddenly coming upon this oasis of the great American Desert, and the generous feast he had partaken of that day, had wrought a miracle. What his eyes had beheld was a crowning wonder, even in this age of wonders. In his enthusiasm he declared that the nation herself was "indebted to the Mormons." And he was right. Emphatically so, when he affirmed that California, especially, owed them a debt of gratitude, for Utah had been the half-way house and resting-place of Californians.

As for Governor Bross, of Illinois, there was a genuine earnestness in his expression of admiration for the people, and for the work of civilization that they had wrought in the Desert. He was a western man, and had been associated with the rapid growth of the West all his life, but what he saw in Utah surpassed it all, and astonished even him; and as a journalist he heartily pledged his word to the people that, from that hour, his pen and influence should be used to do justice to the Mormons. In this regard he has kept his word.

Mr. Richardson was philosophical, arguing that the evidences of industry and of a good ordered society proved that the Mormons could not but be a virtuous people—a people, indeed, endowed with the highest social and religious qualities.

The party remained over a week in Salt Lake City, and on the Sunday evening before their departure Mr. Colfax delivered an oration, in the Bowery, to an immense audience, on "the Life and Principles of President Lincoln."

# CHAPTER XXVI.

SECOND VISIT OF MR. COLFAX. "WILL THE MORMONS FIGHT?" "LET US ALONE WITH OUR PROBLEMS." HE IS INFORMED OF AN APPROACHING SCHISM. THE SCHISM INAUGURATED. EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE APOSTATES. PASSING EVENTS. THE RAILROAD AND THE MAN OF DESTINY. PASSAGE OF THE FEMALE SUFFRAGE BILL, ETC.

In 1869, Mr. Colfax, then Vice-President of the United States, again visited Utah; but this time it was for a more important purpose than to simply spy out the land, as on his previous visit. There can be no doubt that he had at this time a pretty well-defined programme. It was nothing less than the suppression of polygamy, even at the cost of war, if necessary. Nothing less than the complete overthrow of Brigham Young and the Mormon hierarchy was to stay his arm. Mormondom, to his mind, was nothing less than a standing rebeldom, which ever and anon hurled insulting defiance into the face of the General Government. This was a view of easy acceptance by President Grant, and to accept it was to simply inspire within him the resolve to conquer "polygamic theocracy" by the establishment of a Federal rule, in Utah, as iron-heeled as that which had just been established over the Southern States. To work up the case by the most summary Congressional proceedings, was as natural to the occasion as was the consummation of it, by military force, congenial to the man. Hence, at that moment, the country looked upon another Mormon war as being not only probable but imminent.

Not a little singular is it that at this moment of the Vice-President's visit, there was being fulminated within the Church a schism, which was to be at once an apparent danger and a real protection; yet subsequent events fully substantiate this view.

Colfax came with the question, "Will the Mormons fight?" He was answered by a revelation of the impending schism, and implored by the apostatizing elders to "let us alone with our problems!" A revolution was about to be inaugurated. If the Federal power attempted to coerce the people, every prospect of success would be swept away by the cohesive impulse of a common defence. The sagacious Vice-President was at once fully converted to the encouragement of the disintegration of the Church, in preference to an attempt to force the issue by the sword, and thereafter gave direction to his efforts in consonance with that view.

The war programme was therefore abandoned. But to return to the immediate cause of its abandonment:

The movement, whose adherents are familiarly known as the "Godbeites," took definite shape in the form of a protestant movement against a certain line of policy which President Young had inaugurated in the matter of the commercial relations of the Mormons, and which he was pushing with characteristic vigor and persistence. With this tangible point of protest were also coupled some points concerning the more abstruse questions of Church polity and personal orthodoxy. But these latter, although doubtless furnishing the conscientious incentive to action of Mr. Godbe and his compeers, cannot be considered the great elements of success, in whatever of success came out of the movement. The revolt took shape and strength in that its element of opposition to President Young's commercial policy attracted to it the support of every gentile in the Territory. Realizing that a house divided against itself cannot stand, Brigham promptly and summarily "cut off" the protestant members, although many of them had thenbefore been held by him in high esteem

It is not profitable to here recount the details of that dealing with apostacy. The heart-burnings and recriminations of those days had best be left to pass out of thought and remembrance. All that was honorable and just in the purview of that movement will surely triumph; all of it that was born of selfishness and untruth will surely fail. But in the broader aspect and higher view,—that it was a divine intending, to ward off the war-charged cloud of bigotry that threatened, in Colfax's time, to overshadow the valleys of Utah,—can be seen a circumstance that compasseth all selfishness, and attains to the broadness of a purpose fit to be considered the purpose of God.

It is claimed that out of the "Godbe movement" grew up the political opposition party that has since its organization figured somewhat conspicuously,—to the effect, however, of more firmly consolidating the power of the Church.

The next important event in the history of Utah was the laying of the last rail of the Utah Central Railroad. The completion of the Union and Central Pacific lines was a national event, affecting greatly the destiny of Utah as well as that of the entire Pacific coast; but the completion of the Utah Central was the proper local sign of radical changes. That event put the Territory *en rapport* with the age of railroads, and a world of expansion came to Mormondom with the laying of the last rail in Salt Lake City, and a community, originally formed in a state of isolation, appreciated at once that henceforth the hand of the East and the hand of the West were joined with Utah, and forty millions of people were at her door.

It was January 10th, 1870; the weather was cold; a heavy fog hung over the city of the Great Salt Lake; but the multitude assembled, and by two o'clock P. M. there is said to have been gathered around the depot block not less than fifteen thousand people. As the train with the invited guests from Ogden and the north came in sight, dashing toward the end of the track, shouts arose from the assembled city. A large steel mallet had been prepared for the occasion, made at the blacksmith's shop of the public works of the Church. The "last spike" was forged of Utah iron, manufactured ten years previously by the late Nathaniel V. Jones. The mallet was elegantly chased, bearing on the top an engraved bee-hive (the emblem of the State of

Deseret), surrounded by the inscription "Holiness to the Lord," and underneath the bee-hive were the letters U. C. R. R.; a similar ornament consecrated the spike, both intending to symbolize that Utah, with the railroad, should still be the "Kingdom of God." The sun, which had hid himself behind the clouds during the whole day, burst forth as in joy to witness the event of the laying of the last rail almost at the very instant. It was like a glad surprise, and the apostles took it as an omen of good. The honor of driving the last spike in the first railroad built by the Mormon people, was assigned to President Young.

Another matter worthy of record was the passage, by the Utah Legislature, of a bill granting the suffrage to women. The following is a copy of it:

An Act, giving women the elective franchise in the Territory of Utah.

*Sec.* 1.—Be it enacted by the Governor and the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, that every woman of the age of twenty-one years, who has resided in this Territory six months next preceding any general or special election, born or naturalized in the United States, or who is the wife, or widow, or the daughter of a naturalized citizen of the United States, shall be entitled to vote at any election in this Territory.

§ 2.—All laws, or parts of laws, conflicting with this act are hereby repealed.

Approved February 12, 1870.

It has been charged that the ruling motive which actuated the dominant party in Utah to enfranchise the women was identical with that which procured the enfranchisement of the Freedmen, *i. e.* a desire to secure their votes. Be that as it may, it is truly an "ill wind that blows nobody any good;" and if the whirlwind of political strife did put the ballot into the hands of the noble women of Utah, it is well. The brothel, the gambling den and the dram-shop will soon go to the wall, when the women of America are permitted to assail them at the ballot-box.

# CHAPTER XXVII.

PRESIDENT GRANT BENT ON THE CONQUEST OF "MORMON THEOCRACY." HE APPOINTS SHAFFER GOVERNOR FOR THAT PURPOSE. SHERIDAN'S "MORAL FORCE." SHAFFER'S MILITARY "COUP DE MAIN." GENERAL WELLS AVOIDS A COLLISION. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE LIEUT.-GENERAL AND THE GOVERNOR. DEATH OF SHAFFER.

The design of President Grant to overthrow Mormon rule in Utah was developed through various methods of action. Dr. Newman's Evangelical Expedition, and McKean's Judicial Crusade, were both stamped with the President's seal. But first came his war policy, which at one time meant the absolute *conquest* of "Mormon Theocracy" by military force, or at least by military rule. This is what was signified by the appointment of a "War Governor," in the person of J. Wilson Shaffer.

In 1868, General Rawlings, then Secretary of War, visited Utah. The South was in process of reconstruction, and the Secretary thought that Utah needed reconstruction quite as much as the South. Casting his eye over the list of his old war comrades to find the man most fit for the work, he determined to select General Shaffer. Rawlings committed to President Grant his "dying charge," to appoint "Wils" Shaffer of Illinois Governor of Utah, to conquer Brigham Young. After the death of the Secretary, on the resignation of Governor Durkee, the appointment was duly made. Surprised at the event, and knowing that the choice of himself, at that critical juncture of Utah affairs, was not due to political management, Shaffer hastened to Washington to "inquire" of the President. It was then that the new Governor learned from the lips of President Grant that he owed his appointment to the dead Secretary of War, and was informed of the grand purpose for which he had been chosen. This is Governor Shaffer's own statement.

Shaffer knew that he himself was gradually dying —that a few short months must close his mortal career. But he was assigned to a post of honor. He accepted the appointment as a trust extraordinary from the President of the United States, and as a legacy left to him by his dead patron and comrade. He undertook the "mission" with the "vow" to execute it before his death. He would make himself Governor of Utah, to all intents and purposes, if he had to do it by the sword.

"Never after me," said he, "by ——! shall it be " said that Brigham Young is Governor of Utah!"

Governor Shaffer arrived in Utah in the latter end of March, 1870. Casting about for some object on which to expend his belligerency, he made enquiry of a prominent schismatic as to the feasibility of successfully attacking polygamy. The answer was: "I married my wives in good faith. They " married me in good faith. They have borne me " children. We have lived together for years, be-

"lieving it was the will of God. The same is true "of the Mormon people generally. Before I will "abandon my wives as concubines, and cast off my "children as bastards, I will fight the United States "Government *down to my boots.* What would you "do, Governor, in the like case?"

"By ——, I would do the same!"

Soon after this General Sheridan visited Salt Lake City, for the purpose of establishing another military post in Utah, "as a moral force," as he expressed it. The post was duly established at Provo, and President Grant, inclining to the Vice-President's view, so far modified his policy as to abandon the idea, for the time being, of forcing a rupture with the people.

But Governor Shaffer was resolved not to die before he had executed some military *coup de main* against Mormondom. The annual muster of the Territorial militia gave him the opportunity. Here is the call for the muster, followed by proclamations and correspondence between the Governor and the Lieut.-General. They tell their own story:

### THE LIEUT.-GENERAL'S ORDER.

Adjut.-General's Office, U. T., Salt Lake City,
August 16th, 1870.

General Orders, No. 1.

No. 1.—Major-General Robert T. Burton, commanding 1st Division, Nauvoo Legion, Salt Lake Military District, will cause to be held a general muster, for three days, of all the forces within said district, for the purposes of drill, inspection and camp duty.

No. 2.—The commandants of Utah, Juab, Sanpete, Parawan, Richland, Tooele, Summit and Wasatch military districts, will cause to be held a similar muster, not to exceed three days, of all the forces in their respective districts, to be held not later than the 1st day of November. Said commandants will cause suitable notice to be given of time and place of muster, and all persons liable to military duty to be enrolled and notified.

No. 3.—Bands of music may be organized, and musicians required to perform duty as per General Order No. 2.

No. 4.—It is with deep regret that we announce to the Legion the death of Brigadier-General C. W. West, commandant of Weber military district.

No. 5.—At the muster of the forces of Cache military district, there will be elected a Brigadier-General, who will take command of said district.

No. 6—District-Commandants will cause all vacancies to be filled in their respective districts; they will have a rigid inspection of arms and equipments, and make full and complete returns to this office, on or before the fifteenth day of November. They are also enjoined to enforce good order and sobriety, and to take every precaution to avert the occurrence of accident from any cause whatever during the muster.

By order of

Lieut.-Gen. Daniel H. Wells,

*Commanding Nauvoo Legion.*

H. B. Clawson,

*Adjutant-General U. T.*

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### GOVERNOR SHAFFER'S PROCLAMATION—1.

Executive Department,
Salt Lake City, Utah Territory,
September 15th, 1870.

Know ye, that I, J. Wilson Shaffer, Governor of the Territory of Utah, and Commander-in-chief of the militia of said Territory, by virtue of the power and authority in me vested by the laws of the United States, have, this day, appointed and commissioned P. E. Connor, Major-General of the militia of Utah Territory; and W. M. Johns, Colonel and Assistant Adjutant-General of the militia of the Territory. Now, it is ordered that they be obeyed and respected accordingly.

Witness my hand and the great seal of said Territory, at Salt Lake City, this the 15th day of September, A. D. 1870.

[SEAL.]

J. M. SHAFFER,
*Governor.*

Attest: VERNON H. VAUGHN,
*Secretary of Utah Territory.*

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### GOVERNOR SHAFFER'S PROCLAMATION—2.

Executive Department,
Salt Lake City, Utah Territory,
September 15, 1870.

Know ye, that I, Wilson Shaffer, Governor of the Territory of Utah, and Commander-in-chief of the military of the Territory of Utah, do hereby forbid and prohibit all musters, drills or gatherings of militia of the Territory of Utah, and all gatherings of any nature, kind or description of armed persons within the Territory of Utah, except by my orders, or by the orders of the United States Marshal, should he need a *posse commitatus* to execute any order of the Court, and not otherwise. And it is hereby further ordered that all arms or munitions of war belonging to either the United States or the Territory of Utah, within said Territory, now in the possession of the Utah militia, be immediately delivered by the parties having the same in their possession to Col. Wm. M. Johns, Assistant Adjt.-General; and it is further ordered that, should the United States Marshal need a *posse commitatus*, to enforce any order of the Courts, or to preserve order, he is hereby authorized and empowered to make a requisition upon Major-Gen. P. E. Connor for such *posse commitatus* or armed force; and Major-General P. E. Connor is hereby authorized to order out the militia, or any part thereof, as of my order for said purposes and no other.

Witness my hand and the great seal of said Territory, at Salt Lake City, this the 15th day of September, 1870.

[SEAL]

J. W. SHAFFER,
*Governor.*

Attest: VERNON H. VAUGHN,
*Secretary of Utah Territory.*

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### THE LIEUT.-GENERAL'S REPLY TO THE GOVERNOR.

Adjt.-General's Office, U. T., Salt Lake City,
October 20, 1870.

His Excellency J. W. Shaffer, Governor, and Commander-in-chief of the militia of Utah Territory.

SIR:—Whereas, a proclamation has been published, emanating from your Excellency, in which the holding of the regular musters in this Territory is prohibited, except by your order; and

Whereas, to stop the musters now, neither the terms of the proclamation, the laws of the Territory, nor the laws of Congress requiring reports of the force and condition of the militia of the Territory could be complied with; we, therefore, the undersigned, for and in behalf of the militia of said Territory, respectfully ask your Excellency to suspend the operation of said proclamation until the 20th day of November next, in order that we may be enabled to make full and complete returns of the militia as aforesaid.

DANIEL H. WELLS,
*Lieut.-Gen. Com'g Militia, U. T.*

H. B. CLAWSON,
*Adjt.-Gen. Militia, U. T.*

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THE GOVERNOR'S FIAT.

Executive Department,
Utah Territory, Salt Lake City,
October 27, 1870.

DANIEL H. WELLS, ESQ.:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of yesterday, in which you sign yourself "Lieutenant-General Commanding the militia of Utah Territory." As the laws of the United States provides for but one Lieutenant-General, and as the incumbent of that office is the distinguished Phillip H. Sheridan, I shall certainly be pardoned for recognizing no other.

In your communication you addressed me as "Commander-in-chief of the militia of Utah Territory." It is now twenty years since the act to organize this Territory was passed by the Congress of the United States, and, so far as I am informed, this is the first instance in which you, or any of your predecessors, in the pretended office which you assume to hold, have recognized the Governor of this Territory to be, as the organic act makes him, the Commander-in-chief, &c. My predecessors have been contemptuously ignored, or boldly defied. I congratulate you and the loyal people here, and elsewhere, on the significant change in your conduct.

You do me the honor to ask me to suspend the operation of my proclamation of Sept. 15th, 1870, prohibiting all musters, drills, &c., &c. In other words, you ask me to recognize an unlawful military system, which was originally organized in Nauvoo, in the State of Illinois, and which has existed here without authority of the United States, and in defiance of the Federal officials.

You say: "Whereas, to stop the proclamation now, neither the terms of the proclamation, the laws of the Territory, nor the laws of Congress, &c., could be complied with." That is, my proclamation cannot be carried out, unless I let you violate it. Laws of the Territory which conflict with the laws of Congress, must fall to the ground, unless I will permit you to uphold them, and the laws of Congress cannot be complied with unless I will let you interpret and nullify them! To state the proposition is to answer it.

Mr. Wells, you know, as well as I do, that the people of this Territory, most of whom were foreign born, and are ill acquainted with our institutions, have been taught to regard certain private citizens here as superior in authority, not only to the

Federal officials here, but also at Washington. Ever since my proclamation was issued, and on a public occasion, and in presence of many thousands of his followers, Brigham Young, who claims to be, and is called, "President," denounced the Federal officials of this Territory with bitter vehemence, and on a like occasion, about the same time, and in his (Young's) presence, one of his most conspicuous followers declared that Congress had no right whatever to pass an organic act for this Territory; that such was a relic of colonial barbarism, and that not one of the Federal officials had any right to come to, or remain in, this Territory.

Mr. Wells, you ask me to take a course which, in effect, would aid you and your turbulent associates to further convince your followers that you and your associates are more powerful than the Federal Government. I must decline.

To suspend the operation of my proclamation now, would be a greater dereliction of my duty than not to have issued it.

Without authority from me you issued an order in your assumed capacity of Lieut.-General, etc., calling out the military of the Territory to muster, and now you virtually ask me to ratify your act.

Sir, I will not do anything in satisfaction of your officious and unwarranted assumption.

By the provisions of the organic act, the Governor is made the Commander-in-chief of the militia of the Territory, and, sir, so long as I continue to hold that office, a force so important as that of the militia shall not be wielded or controled in disregard of my authority, which, by law, and by my obligation, it is my plain duty not only to assert, but, if possible, to maintain.

I hope the above is sufficiently explicit to be fully understood, and supersede the necessity of any further communications on the subject.

I have the honor to be, etc.

(Signed) J. W. SHAFFER,
*Governor and Commander-in-chief of Utah Territory.*

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### AN OPEN LETTER TO GOVERNOR SHAFFER.

Editor "*Deseret Evening News.*"

SIR: I find myself under the necessity of requesting you to give space in your columns for the enclosed correspondence between myself and His Excellency Governor Shaffer. His reply to my communication reached me yesterday, and it was only a few hours afterwards that I saw the entire correspondence in print. I might have felt some reluctance before this in giving our correspondence publicity, but now I have no alternative; my duty to the public, my regard for truth, and my own self-respect will not suffer me to remain silent; and although Governor Shaffer closes his communication by saying, that he hopes what he has written will supersede the necessity of any further communication on this subject, I am constrained to write you this letter.

The first point which I will notice in his communication is the statement that,—

"As the laws of the United States provide for but one lieut.-general, and as the incumbent of that office is the distinguished Phillip H. Sheridan, I shall certainly be pardoned for recognizing no other."

What inference does Governor Shaffer wish to draw from this? The same law of Congress which provides for *one* lieut.-general provides for five major-generals (see Army Register for 1869; also

General E. D. Townsend's report to General W. T. Sherman, commanding U. S. army for same year); must we therefore conclude that there shall be no major-generals of militia in the States or Territories? The same law prescribes that there shall be eight brigadier-generals; are we to understand Governor Shaffer that the distinguished gentlemen who hold these positions in the regular army are the only ones in the States and Territories who are to be recognized as such? This being the inference to be drawn from his language, who shall presume to recognize any officers of militia in any of the States and Territories as major-generals and brigadier-generals, when the law of Congress has already provided for but five of the former and eight of the latter?

As His Excellency seems to take pleasure in referring to law, permit me also to direct his attention to the following:

Section 10 of an Act, approved July 28th, 1866, limits the number of officers and assistant adjutant-generals in their respective corps, prescribing their rank, pay and emoluments; and section 6 of an Act approved March 3d, 1869, provides that, until otherwise directed by law, there shall be no new appointments in the Adjutant-General's Department; also an Act of June 15th, 1844, chapter 69, entitled, "An Act to authorize the Legislatures of the several Territories to regulate the apportionment of representatives and for other purposes," provides, in section 2, "that justices of the peace, and all general officers of militia in the Territories, shall be elected by the people, in such manner as the respective Legislatures thereof shall provide by law." Also, see Brightly's Digest of the United States Laws, page 619, on organization of the militia, section 3.

These extracts are from laws of Congress—the laws for which His Excellency seems to have so much respect; and if they are the only laws which obtain in this Territory, how can His Excellency reconcile with them his recent appointment by proclamation of a major-general, and an assistant adjutant-general for the militia of Utah? And what about the five distinguished incumbents of the office of major-general already appointed under the law? Or, does His Excellency imagine that it falls to his province to fill the vacancy created by the death of the lamented George H. Thomas.

The second point in Governor Shaffer's communication which I will notice, is wherein he states that—

"So far as I have been informed, this is the first instance in which you or any of your predecessors, in the pretended office which you assume to hold, ever recognized the Governor of this Territory to be as the organic act makes him to be, the commander-in-chief, etc., etc. My predecessors have been contemptuously ignored or boldly defied."

It is scarcely necessary for me to remark to any resident familiar with the history of this Territory, that Governor Shaffer's information on this subject is very defective. That which he styles a "pretended office" I have held by the unanimous voice of the people of the Territory—the office having been created by Act of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, approved by the Governor, Feb. 5th, 1852, and not transported from Illinois, as stated by Governor Shaffer in another part of his letter. Even if it were as he states, can no good thing come out of Illinois? Or is it such a crime to copy after anything emanating from that distinguished State? I may here add, further, that I have never had any predecessor in the office since the organization of the Territory. As to this being the "first instance" in which I have recognized the Governor of this Territory as the commander-in-chief, Governor Shaffer is either strangely ignorant or wilfully misrepresents, for during the first eight years after the organization of the Territory, His Excellency Brigham Young was the Governor of the Territory, and I presume no one will dispute that he was recognized as the commander-in-chief. During the next four years, while His Excellency Alfred Cumming was Governor of the Territory, and also during the administrations of his successors up to the present time—with the exception of Governor Dawson, who only remained in the Territory about thirty days—I have abundant documentary evidence to show that I recognized them as governors and commanders-in-chief of the militia of the Territory, and have in return been recognized by them as Lieut.-General commanding militia of Utah Territory. Besides being recognized as Lieut.-General by the predecessors of Governor Shaffer, I have in every instance been acknowledged as such in all official correspondence with officers of the regular army, superintendents of the Indian affairs and other "Federal officials," both here and out of the Territory. His Excellency Governor Shaffer therefore stands distinguished as the first "Federal officer" who, in reply to a respectful communication, has so far forgotten what is due from a man holding his position, as to ignore the common courtesies always extended between gentlemen.

Before ending my reference to this point, permit me, if it does not trespass too much on your space, to give you copies of one or two communications which I have received from predecessors of Governor Shaffer:

Executive Department,
Great Salt Lake City,
June 11, 1862.

To Gen. D. H. Wells, commanding militia of Utah Territory.

Sir:—A requisition has been made upon me this day by Henry W. Lawrence, Esq., Territorial Marshal for the Territory of Utah, through his deputies, R. T. Burton, Esq., and Theodore McKean, Esq., for a military force to act as a *posse commitatus* in the service of certain writs issued from the Third Judicial District Court of said Territory, for the arrest of Joseph Morris and others, residing in the northern part of Davis County, in said district.

It appears that said Joseph Morris, and his associates, have organized themselves into an armed force to resist the execution of said writs, and are setting at defiance the law and its officers.

I therefore require you to furnish the said Henry W. Lawrence, Esq., or his deputies aforesaid, a sufficient military force for the arrest of the offenders, the vindication of justice, and the enforcement of the law.

FRANK FULLER,
*Acting-Governor and Commander-in-chief.*

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Executive Department,
Great Salt Lake City,
November 26, 1862.

Lieut.-Gen. D. H. WELLS, Commanding Nauvoo Legion.

SIR:—I herewith enclose a communication directed to the Governor of this Territory, from the War Department at Washington, in relation to arms, &c., furnished by the several States since the 4th of March, 1861. If you have any information on the subject applicable to this Territory, I will be glad if you will report the same to me immediately.

I remain, respectfully yours, &c.,

H. S. HARDING,
*Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Territory of Utah.*

P. S.—You will please return the communication from the War Department, with your report.

As to Governor Shaffer's next paragraph, I fail to see the point as stated. As has been the usage in the Territory for years past, and in accordance with the laws thereof, orders were issued for the holding of the regular Fall muster of the military of the Territory in their respective districts. These orders were dated August 16th, 1870. Some thirty days after, Governor Shaffer issued his proclamation prohibiting the holding of musters, drills, &c. In my communication to him, I simply asked him to suspend the operation of that proclamation until the 20th of Nov., that the Fall musters might be completed—they having already been held in some of the districts—in order that I might comply with the request of the department made through the Adjt.-General's office, for Washington city, asking for the annual return of the militia of Utah Territory, in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress (sec. 1), approved March 20, 1803. How this can be construed into an attempt to "nullify" the laws of Congress escapes my penetration, but, on the contrary, it appears to me that the proclamation of Governor Shaffer is calculated to produce that result. As to there being any conflict between the laws of the Territory and the laws of Congress, that is mere assertion, incapable of proof.

As to his allusion respecting what has been said at public meetings, I have to say that public officers, "Federal officials" included, are supposed to be public property, so far as their official acts are concerned, and subject to the scrutiny of the people. Every man under our Government has the right to free speech, and to express his opinions concerning the acts of public officers—a right, moreover, which is generally indulged in by all parties. I am not aware that President Brigham Young has "de-

"nounced the Federal officials of this Territory "with bitter vehemence," or that if he has, I am responsible therefor, or that I should be held responsible for the opinion of any other gentleman in regard to the power of Congress to organize a Territorial Government.

I am of the opinion that the people of the Territory, according to the constitution, have the right to bear arms—that the Legislative Assembly had the right to organize the militia—that Congress had the right to declare that the general officers should be elected by the people in such a manner as the respective Legislatures of the States and Territories may provide by law; that the Governors of the States and Territories are Commanders-in-chief of the militia, the same as the President of the United States is Commander-in-chief of the armies and navies of the United States, with Generals and Admirals under him commanding; that the military organization of our Territory follows that of the Federal Government more closely, perhaps, than that of any other Territory or State in the Union; and that Governors and Commanders-in-chief are as much the creatures of law as any other officers, and while they exercise a higher jurisdiction, they are as amenable to law as the humblest officer or citizen.

I will not take up your valuable space, neither will I condescend to make reference to the concluding paragraphs of his letter. My only object has been to vindicate the Legislative Assembly, myself and the people, as to our rights under the law, so unwarrantably assailed in the communication of Governor Shaffer.

Respectfully,

DANIEL H. WELLS.

Adjutant-General's Office, U. T.,
Salt Lake City, Nov. 12th, 1870.

General Orders, No. 2.

1.—So far as the general musters in various military districts have not already been held, as contemplated in General Orders, No. 1, of August 16th, 1870, they are hereby postponed until further orders.

By order of

D. H. WELLS.
*Lieut.-Gen. Com'g N. L. Militia, U. T.*

H. B. CLAWSON,
*Adjutant-General, U. T.*

Thus was suspended that famous Nauvoo Legion which, in 1857–58, stood against the army of the United States. At the time of this occurrence it numbered about thirteen thousand men, who were well-armed and equipped and well drilled. First organized by Joseph, the Prophet, it was subsequently brought to a condition of great efficiency by General Wells. Brigham Young, as we have seen, was the second lieutenant-general of the legion, but, after he had sufficiently filled the calling of a prophet-general, in leading his "Latter-day-Israel" to the Rocky Mountains, he resigned, and Daniel H. Wells succeeded him. Under this thoroughly military type of man the Legion was perfected, having, at the time of its suspension, two major-generals, nine brigadier-generals, and twenty-five colonels, with their respective staffs.

Governor Shaffer died in the following month, October, 1870.

On the next Fourth of July, Lieut.-General Wells issued an order for a part of the militia to participate in the celebration of that day, but Acting Governor George A. Black, in violation of right and courtesy, not only forbade the parade, but actually caused the arrest of several militia officers, who met to join in the celebration of the day, and confined them at Camp Douglas. The simple recital of this outrage, in connection with the day and occasion, is most sarcastically suggestive.

But the organization still exists, and the yearly musters have been duly held in many of the military districts.

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# CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONGRESSIONAL HISTORY OF UTAH UP TO 1870. WILLIAM H. HOOPER. THE SETTLEMENT OF AFFAIRS AFTER THE UTAH WAR. RETURN OF BERNHISEL TO CONGRESS AND THE PASSAGE OF THE ANTI-POLYGAMIC BILL; FOLLOWED BY A GENTILE DELEGATE. HOOPER RETURNED AGAIN AND THE PRESTIGE OF HOME DELEGATES RESTORED. THE CULLOM BILL. HOOPER'S GREAT SPEECH.

Utah can scarcely be said to have possessed any political or congressional history until the period of the war. Previously her condition and career had been almost entirely primitive and patriarchal. The Hon. John M. Bernhisel, delegate from Utah through this period, had served his constituents faithfully; but no feature of that service stands out so prominent as to require special mention. The general history, up to this time, may therefore be considered as including the congressional.

The "Mormon war," of course, had somewhat interrupted the relations between Utah and the nation. In the eyes of the American public Utah had been in rebellion; although, as we have seen, the controversy had been amicably settled, and the

Mormons had been pardoned of all their political offences.

It was under this aspect of affairs that William H. Hooper was elected delegate to Congress, from Utah, in August, 1859. His position was a delicate one, his task arduous, and the case he had to handle certainly a very peculiar and complex case, looking at it from whatever point of view. Notwithstanding his constituents held that they were in the right in the late controversy which had nearly come to bloodshed, and notwithstanding their affirmation that they had stood upon their constitutional ground, and had merely resisted, by a practical but a justifiable protest, an unconstitutional invasion of the rights of American citizens, delegate Hooper well knew that the general public took another view of the case. But the great advantage which Hooper possessed, and which enabled him to master the situation, was in this thorough appreciation of the views and shapings of both sides. Therefore, while the delegate was prepared to stand by his people, in the defence of all their constitutional rights, and to ward off any new difficulty, he was equally ready to "see eye to eye" with members of Congress. This was the exact reason why Brigham Young sent him; indeed, one of Brigham's greatest gifts is manifested in his choice of the fittest instruments for the work and the times.

Fortunately, also, when Hooper went to Congress, as delegate, in 1859, the members were disposed to humor the Mormon view of the Utah expedition and troubles, and he in turn humored them most politicly.

As we have seen, the public, and especially journalists and Congressmen, were only too willing to treat the Utah war as Buchanan's affair, and wipe the hands of the nation clean of it. With this feeling came the good-natured inclination to let the Mormons have all they asked for, if they only asked in reason. And Congress had a Utah delegate of a most sagacious, practical turn of mind, who understood his points too well to ask for more than was certain to be granted, contenting himself, in the rest, in working up a good feeling towards his constituents.

Delegate Hooper settled everything he touched. There were two sessions of the Utah Legislature unrecognized and unpaid; Governor Young's accounts against the U. S. Treasury were unsettled; and the expenses of the Indian war of 1850 were still due to the Territory. All this the energetic and influential delegate brought to a settlement. Besides this financial triumph, a bill which passed the House, for the suppression of Polygamy, never became a law, and the thirty-sixth Congress ended, leaving Utah affairs comparatively tranquil.

Notwithstanding that in the thirty-sixth Congress Utah matters had met a very fair adjustment, and that it was indeed the only one in which Utah, up to this date, had risen to anything like political importance in the nation, the Hon. John M. Bernhisel was returned to the thirty-seventh Congress. This may have been intended as a recognition of the past services of that gentleman, before his final retirement from public life, but it is evident that he was not so well fitted for the post as Delegate Hooper. Dr. Bernhisel was originally rather a professional than a political character,—something of a Mormon elder in Congress, representing a religious people, whereas Hooper was a successful merchant, and full of political sagacities. It is true the latter might not have been able to have prevented the passage of the anti-polygamic bill of 1862, but he certainly would have rallied a host of political friends against it. Without wasting his strength to show the "unconstitutionality" of the bill, he would have adopted the more practical line of argument that the bill must, from its very nature, remain inoperative for years, thus giving, tacitly, a license for the continuation of polygamy. This has been abundantly recognized by members of Congress since. That bill of 1862 has been considered by them to be as great a nuisance as polygamy itself. Surely Hooper would have foreshadowed the difficulties of special legislation, in such a delicate question as the marriage question of an entire community. Moreover, in 1862 the whole responsibility of the abolition of thousands of plural marriages rested entirely with Congress, there having been no primary agitation of the matter by the people of Utah themselves. But the thirty-seventh Congress, in its innocence, passed that bill, committing almost as great a blunder as did Buchanan in the case of the Utah war.

The Hon. John M. Bernhisel returned to his constituents, and the Hon. John F. Kinney was elected to succeed him. For a number of years Judge Kinney had been Chief Justice of Utah, but he had just been removed by Lincoln, it is said, for too faithfully serving the Mormons. Be that as the reader may please to consider, the Mormons were grateful, and resolved that the Chief Justice should not go from them in disgrace. They accordingly elected him to represent them in the thirty-eighth Congress; and so the Chief Justice, instead of returning to his friends in the East, under a cloud, went to Washington in triumph, to take his seat in the Congress of the United States.

Judge Kinney was a brilliant man, and he soon won golden opinions from both constituents and strangers, by his eloquent efforts in Congress.

But he was not essentially identified with the destiny of Utah, although a constant friend of the people, and it became evident that the congressional career of a gentile, representing a purely Mormon constituency, must tend more to his political advancement than to their potency. He might have built a pinnacle on their political destiny; they could build nothing on his political fame. They had the example of Judge Douglass before them—"the Mormon-made Senator"—who in his career nearly reached the Presidency of the United States, yet who recommended to Congress the expediency of cutting the "loathsome ulcer out"—that "ulcer" the people who, in his rise to fame, had done so much to uplift him. In justice, however, it should be said that Judge Kinney served his constituents well and faithfully.

With the return of Hon. W. H. Hooper to the thirty-ninth Congress, the prestige of home delegates was restored. His influence was greater than ever, both at home and in Washington. The very change for a time from Mormon to Gentile had enhanced that influence, and illustrated the eminent consistency of a man who was politically in harmony with Congress, yet in destiny one with the Mormon people, representing them as their delegate. We are ever impressed with that law which is described as the "eternal fitness of things;" so Congress could better understand and respect William H. Hooper maintaining the integrity of the Mormon commonwealth, and reconciling it with the rights of the American citizen, than it could the representation of Utah, in those days, by a Gentile delegate. Hooper had by far the greater influence in Congress; his earnestness in controversy was respected by his congressional colleagues, even when they were resolutely bent on an anti-Mormon policy; and the very fact that he was a well-known monogamist only rendered his defence of the religious rights of his polygamic constituents more truly American in spirit.

After the return of Mr. Hooper, and during the thirty-ninth and fortieth Congresses, to the commencement of Grant's administration, in 1869, nothing very formidable was proposed or carried out against the founders of Utah. Bills were introduced by Mr. Ashley, then chairman of the Territorial Committee, and others, looking to the disintegration of the Territory; but only a passive recognition was given those measures by Congress. Gentile delegations also went to Washington from Utah urging legislation against the Mormons; but Congress was busy with the great question of "reconstruction," and the impeachment of President Johnson, and thus Utah, a minor question, was overlooked.

The passive action of Congress towards Utah, coupled with the wholesome legislation of the Johnson period, among which was the establishment of the present land system, warranted the hope that a brighter day was dawning for the Territory. But, with the commencement of Grant's administration, a new warfare was opened, and early in the first session under his Presidency, the Cullom Bill was introduced in the House. Its monstrosity was such that scarcely a section did not propose measures in violation of the most sacred provisions of the constitution. It is understood that this bill was framed in Utah. It was very like a *resume* of the Cragin Bill; and Senator Cragin at once adopted it as his *protege*. He could well afford this, for it was a more perfected anti-Mormon measure than his own, bristling with formidable points of special legislation against "Polygamic Theocracy," wherever touched. General Cullom fathered the bill in the House; Senator Cragin introduced it in the Senate. The Cullom Bill was published and reviewed by nearly all the journals of the country. From the stand point of newspaper criticism, it was very difficult to tell exactly what was its moral character. There was, however, a pretty general confession that it was an infamous bill; yet, with a strange consistency, it was quite as candidly confessed that it was not nearly bad enough to satisfy the popular desire.

Sargeant, Axtell and Fitch spoke against the bill. The Hon. Thomas Fitch's speech, against the iniquitous measure, was one of the most powerful efforts of oratory that Congress has had the privilege of listening to in these latter days. Not, however, from the bill itself did Mr. Fitch conjure the effectiveness of his speech, but over the prospect of the blood and the millions of money which it must cost the nation to enforce its provisions. Fitch's speech created so much sensation in the House that General Cullom himself proposed the temporary recommittal of the bill.

The Cullom Bill not only stirred the entire nation to a desire for special legislation against the Mormons, but also Mormondom to its very centre. Preparation for the action nearly brought Delegate Hooper to his grave. Several weeks he laid sick in New York, his friends sometimes despairing of his recovery; but the tenacious spirit of the man prevailed. Moreover, the magic power and will of Brigham Young was behind him; and the faith of the entire Mormon people went up to heaven in behalf of their delegate, that he might be equal to the task of the crowning moment.

That crowning moment came. Delegate Hooper was on the floor of the House, with his plea for religious liberty. His great speech, delivered March 23d, 1870, justly takes rank as amongst the ablest forensic efforts of the nineteenth century. *

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* See Appendix.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

MORMONDOM AROUSED BY THE PASSAGE OF THE CULLOM BILL. GREAT INDIGNATION OF THE PEOPLE. THE BROTHERHOOD AND SISTERHOOD ON THE EVE OF A CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION OR READY FOR MARTYRDOM. PRESIDENT GRANT AND PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG MOVING THEIR FORCES FROM BEHIND. MEMORIAL AND REMONSTRANCE TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES. NEWMAN'S EVANGELICAL RAID.

The Cullom Bill was passed in the House on the same day that Hooper delivered his speech. He immediately telegraphed the fact home. Mormondom was aroused in a moment. The excitement was intense. A burning indignation against Congress possessed the men and women alike, and there was good reason for this righteous indignation, for not only did the bill contemplate its own execution, in the most summary manner, by the arbitrary will of the courts, but troops were expected to be necessary to intimidate the people.

The Mormon leaders alone were cool and self-possessed. Brigham Young was not moved from his wonted serenity, by the prospect of the inevitable conflict between himself and the man who had conquered the South, and who had already boasted that he would do as much for Mormondom. That, indeed, was what all this noise of anti-Mormon battle signified. It was war between these two Titans, Ulysses S. Grant and Brigham Young. The Cullom Bill was but a method of attack, and General Cullom, the member from Illinois—that State which had driven the Mormons from the "borders of civilization,"—was a very proper herald of President Grant's proclamation of war against "President Brigham Young."

Yet how like themselves, and how unlike any other people of modern times, did the Mormons meet the crusade against them; notwithstanding they saw the victorious Grant at its head, and the various movements of the coming action commanded by such potent enemies as Vice-President Colfax, Senator Cragin, General Cullom and the ambitious chaplain of the Senate, Dr. Newman, the Mormon people showed their peculiar examples very nearly as strongly marked in 1870 as they were in 1857–8.

This time Brigham Young deemed it not wise to place himself in the foreground. He was still, however, in the soul of the action. The unalterable purposes were his, the methods were his. He was still the inspirer of his people, still the master mind that directed the whole; but he placed his people face to face with Congress and the nation to let them speak for themselves. He could trust the brotherhood, and he could trust the sisterhood, for on this occasion the women of Mormondom were brought into the field of action as a major force. Brigham Young well understood that the real conflict was between himself and President Grant. These two remarkable men were both aiming to pursue the best methods to master each other; and it is not a little interesting to study the development of the movements of each to that end from the onset to the present moment. In other chapters we shall see how, step by step, General Grant has advanced to the conquest of Brigham Young, with as determined a spirit as he ever manifested in the subjugation of the South; and how he has failed in his every effort, with all his instruments, in bringing confusion to the modern "man "of destiny," and overthrowing the Mormon commonwealth. But come we now more immediately to the issue of the Cullom Bill, and the remonstrances of the entire Mormon people.

The Cullom Bill had passed the House, but it had not yet passed the Senate. There was the bare chance that, if the people arose *en masse*, and manifested to the country that earnest apostolic spirit so becoming of them, the Cullom Bill might die in the Senate. The Gentiles of Utah, however, looked upon this as the Mormon "forlorn hope," and decided, beyond all question, that Senator Cragin would prosecute the action through the Senate to a successful issue, as surely as had General Cullom done in the House.

But the Mormon people still trusted in the Lord. At midday of the 31st of March, according to previous notice, the people began to flock *en masse* towards Temple Block, to protest against the recent action of the House, of Congress, and to petition the Senate not to pass the Cullom Bill. At one o'clock every seat and window of the tabernacle was packed with spectators, the doorways were crowded, and around the building was a vast multitude that could not find entrance. Mayor D. H. Wells was chosen to preside over the meeting. Apostles Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Geo. Q. Cannon and others addressed the people, after which the following memorial to Congress was unanimously adopted:

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress Assembled:*

GENTLEMEN:—It is with no ordinary concern that we have learned of the passage by the House of Representatives of the House Bill No. 1,089, entitled "A bill in aid of the execution of the laws in Utah, and for other purposes," commonly known as "The Cullom Bill," against which we desire to enter our most earnest and unqualified protest, and appeal against its passage by the Senate of the United States, or beg its reconsideration by the House of Representatives. We are sure you will bear with us while we present for your consideration some of the reasons why this bill should not become law.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, of the 150,000 estimated population of the Territory of Utah, it is well known that all except from 5,000 to 10,000 are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, usually called Mormons. These are essentially the people of this Territory; they have settled it, reclaimed the desert waste, cultivated it, subdued the Indians, opened means of communication, made roads, built cities, and brought into being a new State to add lustre to the national galaxy of our glorious Union. And we, the people who have done this, are believers in the principles of plural marriage or polygamy, not simply as an elevating social relationship, and a preventive of many terrible evils which afflict our race, but as a principle revealed by God, underlying our every hope of eternal salvation and happiness in heaven. We believe in the pre-existence of the spirits of men; that God is the author of our being; that marriage is ordained as the legitimate source by which mankind obtain an existence in this probation on the earth; that the marriage relation exists and extends throughout eternity, and that without it no man can obtain an exaltation in the celestial kingdom of God. The revelation commanding the principle of plural marriage, given by God through Joseph Smith, to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in its first paragraph has the following language: "Behold, I reveal unto you a "new and everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not "that covenant, then are ye damned; for none can "reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into "my glory." With this language before us, we cannot view plural marriage in any other light than as a vital principle of our religion. Let the revelation appear in the eyes of others as it may, to us it is a divine command, of equal force with any ever given by the Creator of the world to his children in the flesh.

The Bible confessedly stands in our nation as the foundation on which all law is based. It is the fountain from which our ideas of right and wrong are drawn, and it gives shape and force to our morality; yet it sustains plural marriage, and in no instance does it condemn that institution. Not only having, therefore, a revelation from God making the belief and practice of this principle obligatory upon us, we have the warrant of the Holy Scriptures and the example of prophets and righteous men whom

God loved, honored and blessed. And it should be borne in mind that when this principle was promulgated, and the people of this Territory entered upon its practice, it was not a crime. God revealed it to us. His divine word, as contained in the Bible which we had been taught to venerate and regard as holy, upheld it, and there was no law applicable to us making our belief or practice of it criminal. It is no crime in this Territory to-day, only as the law of 1862, passed long years after our adoption of this principle, as a part of our religious faith, makes it such. The law of 1862 is now a fact; one proscription gives strength to another. What yesterday was opinion is liable to-day to be law. It is for this reason that we earnestly and respectfully remonstrate and protest against the passage of the bill now before the Honorable Senate, feeling assured that, while it cannot accomplish any possible good it may result in a great amount of misery.

It gives us no alternative but the cruel one of rejecting God's command and abjuring our religion, or disobeying the authority of a Government we desire to honor and respect.

It is in direct violation of the first amendment of the constitution, which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

It robs our priesthood of their functions and heaven-bestowed powers, and gives them to Justices of the Supreme Court, Justices of the Peace, and priests whose authority we cannot recognize, by empowering such as the only ones to celebrate marriage. As well might the law prescribe who shall baptize for the remission of sins, or lay on hands for the reception of the Holy Ghost.

It encourages fornication and adultery, for all such marriages would be deemed invalid and without any sacred or binding force by our community, and those thus united together would, according to their own belief and religious convictions, be living in a condition of habitual adultery, which would bring the holy relation of marriage into disrepute, and destroy the safeguards of chastity and virtue.

It is unconstitutional in that it is in direct opposition to section nine, article one, of the constitution, which provides that "no bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law shall be passed."

It destroys the right of trial by jury, providing for the impaneling of juries composed of individuals the recognized enemies of the accused, and of foreigners to the district where a case under it is to be tried; while the sixth amendment to the constitution provides that "in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed."

It is contrary to the eighth amendment to the constitution, which provides that excessive fines shall not be imposed, "nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted."

It violates section eight, article one, of the constitution, which provides that Congress shall establish a uniform rule of naturalization throughout the United States, in that it provides, in section seventeen, a new, unheard of, and special rule, applicable only to the Territory of Utah.

It is anti-republican, in that in section ten it places men on unequal ground, by giving one portion of the citizens superior privileges over others, because of their belief.

It strips us, in sections seventeen and twenty-six, of the land we have reclaimed from barrenness, and which we have paid Government for; also of all possessory rights to which we are entitled as settlers.

It authorizes, by section fourteen, the sending of criminals into distant military camps and prisons.

It is most unjust, unconstitutional, and proscriptive, in that it disfranchises and proscribes American citizens for no act, but simply believing in plurality of wives, which the bill styles polygamy, bigamy, or concubinage, even if they never have practiced or designed to practice it.

It offers a premium for prostitution and corruption, in that it requires, in sections eleven and twelve, husbands and wives to violate the holiest vows they can make, and voluntarily bastardize their own children.

It declares, in section twenty-one, marriage to be a civil contract, and names the officers who alone shall solemnize the rite, when our faith expressly holds it as a most sacred ordinance, which can only be administered by those holding the authority from heaven; thus compeling us to discriminate in favor of officers appointed by the Government and against officers authorized by the Almighty.

It thus takes away the right of conscience, and deprives us of an ordinance upon the correct administration of which our happiness and eternal salvation depend.

It not only subverts religious liberty, but, in sections sixteen and nineteen, violates every principle of civil liberty and true republicanism, in that it bestows upon the Governor the sole authority to govern jails and prisons, and to remove their wardens and keepers; to appoint and remove Probate Judges, Justices of the Peace, Judges of all elections, Notaries Public and all sheriffs; clothing one man with despotic and, in this Republic, unheard-of power.

It thus deprives the people of all voice in the Government of the Territory, reduces them to absolute vassalage, creates a dangerous, irresponsible and centralized despotism, from which there is no appeal, and leaves their lives, liberties and human rights subject to the caprice of one man, and that man selected and sent here from afar.

It proposes, in sections eleven, twelve and seventeen, to punish American citizens, not for wrongs, but for acts sanctioned by God, and practiced by his most favored servants, requiring them to call those bad men whom God chose for his oracles and delighted to honor, and even to cast reflections on the ancestry of the Saviour himself.

It strikes at the foundation of all Republican Government, in that it dictates opinions and belief, prescribes what shall and shall not be believed by citizens, and assumes to decide on the validity of revelation from Almighty God, the author of existence.

It disorganizes and reduces to a chaotic condition every precinct, city and county in the Territory of Utah, and substitutes no adequate organization. It subverts, by summary process, nearly every law on our statute-book.

It violates the faith of the United States, in that it breaks the original compact made with the people of this Territory in the organic act, who were, at the time that compact was made, received as citizens from Mexican Territory, and known to be believers in the doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

We also wish your honorable bodies to understand that the Legislature of this Territory has never passed any law affecting the primary disposal of the soil, but only adopted regulations for the controling of our claims and possessions, upon which improvements to the amount of millions of dollars have been made.

This bill, in section 36, repeals the law of the Territory containing said regulations, thereby leaving us destitute of legal protection to our hard-earned possessions, the accumulated labor of over twenty years, and exposing us to the mercy of land speculators and vampires.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives this bill which would deprive us of religious liberty and every political right worth having, is not directed against the people of Utah as men and women, but against their holy religion. Eighteen years ago, and ten years before the passage of this Anti-Polygamy Act of 1862, one of our leading men, Elder Orson Pratt, was expressly deputed and sent to the city of Washington, D. C., to publish and lecture on the principle of patriarchal or plural marriage as practiced by us.

He lectured frequently in that and other cities, and published a paper for some length of time, in which he established, by elaborate and convincing arguments, the divinity of the revelation commanding plural marriage, given through the prophet, Joseph Smith, and that the doctrine was sanctioned and endorsed by the highest Biblical authority. For ten years before the passage of the Act of 1862 this doctrine was widely preached throughout the Union and the world, and it was universally known and recognized as a principle of our holy faith. We are thus explicit in mentioning this fact to show that patriarchal marriage has long been understood to be a cardinal principle of our religion. We would respectfully mention, also in this connection, that while hundreds of our leading elders have been in the Eastern States and in the city of Washington, not one of them has been cited to appear as a witness before the Committee on Territories, to prove that this doctrine is a part of our religion; gentlemen well knowing that if that were established, the law would be null and void, because of its unconstitutionality.

What we have done to enhance the greatness and glory of our country by pioneering, opening up, and making inhabitable the vast western region, is before the nation, and should receive a nation's thanks, not a proscriptive edict to rob us of every right worth possessing, and of the very soil we have reclaimed and then purchased from the Government. Before this soil was United States Territory we settled it, and five hundred of our best men responded to the call of the Government in the war with Mexico, and assisted in adding it to our national domain. When we were received into the Union our religion was known; our early officers, including our first Governor, were nearly all Latter-day Saints or "Mormons," for there were few others to elect from; we were treated as citizens possessing equal rights, and the original bond of agreement between the United States Government and the people inhabiting this Territory, conferred upon us the right of self-government in the same degree as is enjoyed by any other Territory in the Union.

It is declared that the power of the Legislature of this Territory "shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the constitution of the United States and the provisions of the Organic Act; and the right of suffrage and holding office shall be exercised by citizens of the United States," including those recognized as citizens by the treaty with the Republic of Mexico, concluded February 2d, 1848. This compact or agreement we have preserved inviolate on our part, and we respectfully submit that it is not in the power of any legislature or congress, legally and constitutionally, to abrogate and annul such an agreement as the organic law, which this bill proposes to do, without the consent of both parties. Our property, lands, and buildings, private and public, are to be confiscated; our rights of citizenship destroyed; our men and women subjected to excessive pains and penalties, because we believe in and practice a principle taught by the Bible, commanded by divine revelation to us, and sustained by the christian monarchies of Great Britain and France among millions of their subjects in their territories of India and Algeria.

We earnestly, we solemnly appeal to you not to permit this iniquitous, unjustly discriminating, and anti-republican measure to become law, and that, too, in violation of the constitution, by which one hundred and fifty thousand industrious, peaceable, and orderly persons will be driven to the desperate necessity of disobeying Almighty God, the governor of the universe, or of subjecting themselves to the pains and penalties of this Act, which would be worse than death.

We beseech of you, gentlemen, do not, by the passage of harsh and despotic measures, drive an inoffensive, God-fearing, and loyal people to desperation.

We have suffered, God knows how much, in years past, for our religion. We fled to the mountain wilds to escape the ruthless hand of persecution; and shall it be said now that our Government, which ought to foster and protect us, designs to repeat, in the most aggravated form, the miseries we have been called upon to pass through before.

What evidence can we give you that plural marriage is a part of our religion, other than what we have done by our public teaching and publishing for years past? If your honorable bodies are not satisfied with what we now present, and what we have previously published to the world, we beseech you, in the name of our common country and those sacred principles bequeathed unto us by our revolutionary fathers, in the name of humanity, and in the name of Almighty God, before making this act a law, to send to this Territory a commission clothed with the necessary authority to take evidence and make a thorough and exhaustive investigation into the subject, and obtain evidence concerning the belief and workings of our religious system, from its friends, instead of its enemies.

This memorial, which was duly signed and attested, along with a set of resolutions more distinctly emphasizing the sentiment of the people upon some of its cardinal points, was promptly forwarded to Washington.

Just previous to this a series of mass-meetings had been held throughout the Territory, by the Mormon women, at which was affirmed, with great earnestness, their belief in, and determination to maintain, the institutions of the Church.

The puritan aspect of those meetings would have been a rare treat to any historical spectator. They would have reminded him of the times when the God-fearing men of England defended their religious and political rights under such leaders as Cromwell, Hampden, Sir John Elliot and Sir Harry Vane, and were inspired by the republican pen of the divine Milton; nor would he have forgotten that one of Milton's most powerful writings is his defence of polygamous marriages, based upon the Hebrew covenants and examples.

This united action of the brotherhood and sisterhood created a sentiment which finally culminated in the overthrow of the Cullom Bill.

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In the meantime Dr. Newman had been blowing his bubble on Mormon polygamy. The great speech of Delegate Hooper on the Cullom Bill had embodied, for the edification of Congress, quite an elaborate biblical review and defence of the "peculiar institution." This provoked the evangelical ire of the chaplain of the Senate, and in turn he discoursed eloquently on the subject of Mormon polygamy, to the admiration of his aristocratic constituency of the Metropolitan church.

The Saints in Zion were much amused at the scene in Washington, and decidedly pleased that their institutions should at length be theologically glorified in "high places." Like Napoleon the Great, they think that "noise is better than monuments." Dr. Newman was making noise for them on polygamy. So with mischievous tact Mr. Edward Sloan, acting editor of the *Salt Lake Daily Telegraph*, suggested that the chaplain of the Senate should discuss the subject in the Mormon tabernacle, it being out of place in Washington. The Dr. affected to regard this as a challenge from Brigham Young. It was a crowning opportunity. To discuss polygamy with the man who had made so much noise in the age—discuss it, too, in the tabernacle before ten thousand Mormons, was to trumpet his own name into an extraordinary notoriety!

Newman "accepted the challenge," and publicly announced his purpose of visiting Utah to discuss with Brigham Young the sensational subject of polygamy. On their side the apostles humored the delusion of the reverend champion, and though the challenge was a transparent hoax, they were quite ready to give the chaplain of the Senate a taste of their apostolic steel. In the event of the polygamic tournament, Orson Pratt was universally chosen by the Mormons as their champion. Soon the Paul of Mormondom and General Grant's pastor were engaged in a preliminary encounter through the columns of the *New York Herald*.

The coming discussion in Zion created a "great noise." In some sort of sense it was a national event. There was just that novelty in it too that the public taste so dearly relishes. The American people were prepared for a treat, and the Dr. was duly "billed," and "illustrated" for the occasion. However, to the last moment of his leaving Washington, he affected to believe that he was going up to the stronghold of Mormondom to discuss with Brigham Young.

Dr. Newman's expectation of a personal discussion with Brigham Young was as absurd as it was presumptuous. As well might that mediocre priest have journeyed to Rome in the expectation of discussing Catholicism with the Pope.

Early in August, 1870, Newman made his advent in Salt Lake City, accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Sunderland, and immediately opened correspondence with Brigham Young. Much to the Rev. Newman's discomfiture, he found that President Young disclaimed the challenge. A lengthy correspondence then ensued; Dr. Newman persistently endeavoring to bring President Young into the arena, but he as persistently referring him to some one of the apostles; the result being that the Rev. ambassador finally condescended to measure swords with Apostle Orson Pratt.

The grand discussion duly came off in the great tabernacle in the presence of thousands. Each day's apostolic fight was glorified with a verbatim report in the *New York Herald*, and every leading paper in the country devoted its columns to a daily synopsis of the arguments. Never before, in the whole christian era, had polygamy been so elaborately and ably discussed between two divines, and certainly never was a religious debate so extensively published and read. Millions of readers followed the arguments of Dr. Newman and Orson Pratt and it is safe to estimate that quite two-thirds of them yielded the palm to the Mormon apostle.

It may have been that Dr. Newman was conscious of his defeat, or at least sensible of public opinion, for the judicial crusade which immediately followed under Judge McKean, against Brigham Young and polygamic theocracy, appeared very much like Newman's revenge. Grant stood by McKean in the very face of the Supreme Court, and Newman stood by and counseled Grant. Indeed, it is only simple justice to McKean to hold that the President of the United States and his pastor were largely responsible for the outrageous judicial proceedings recorded in the following chapter.

# CHAPTER XXX.

THE M'KEAN REGIME. HISTORY OF THE PROTRACTED EFFORTS TO JUDICIALLY MURDER THE FOUNDERS OF UTAH. THE CONSPIRACY DEFEATED. JUSTICE TRIUMPHANT. M'KEAN REMOVED.

We now come to a period in the life of Brigham Young, which betrays most clearly the overruling hand of Providence. The manner in which he was enabled to confound his enemies and triumph over a most wicked perversion of the United States' laws, and vanquish a band of conspirators against the peace and happiness of the Mormon people, as shown in the following record, cannot be regarded as other than providential.

The events to which allusion is made occurred during the years 1870–1–2–3–4, and in the Spring of 1875, finally culminating in the removal of Chief Justice McKean from an office which he had disgraced and abused in a manner to which the world can furnish no parallel. Appointed through the Jesuitical influence of the Methodist Church, and sustained by the combined bigotry of the land, his downfall only came through the sheer recklessness of his despotic and brutal career.

A careful search of the records will reveal how, through such instrumentalities as those of packed grand and petit juries, a corrupt judge, a pretended United States district attorney, appointed by that judge, and the State's evidence of an atrocious murderer, who purchased his own immunity from justice by his perjury, it was intended to consummate the judicial murder of Brigham Young, Mayor Wells of Salt Lake City, Hosea Stout, Joseph A. Young and other leading Mormons, on charges the most absurd and untrue.

Chief Justice McKean and his co-conspirators had their plans apparently well laid, but "man proposes, God disposes." Chief Justice Chase and his associates, inspired by the God of justice, stepped in at the last moment, overwhelmed the enemies of the Mormons, and scattered to the winds their unrighteous machinations. Before we present the proofs, however, from the records of this most remarkable providential interposition to arrest the hands of those would-be judicial murderers, we will give an analysis of the laws bearing upon the case, as expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the case of Dred Scott, Chief Justice Taney said:

"But the power of Congress over the person or property of a citizen (in a Territory) can never be a mere discretionary power under our constitution and form of government. The powers of the Government and the rights and privileges of the citizen are regulated and plainly defined by the constitution itself. And when the Territory becomes a part of the United States, the Federal Government enters into possession in the character impressed upon it by those who created it. It enters upon it with its powers over the citizen clearly defined, and limited by the constitution, from which it derives its own existence, and by virtue of which alone it continues to exist and act as a government and sovereignty. It has no power of any kind beyond it; and it cannot, when it enters a Territory of the United States, put off its character and assume discretionary or despotic powers which the constitution has denied to it. It cannot create for itself a new character separated from the citizens of the United States, and the duties it owes them under the provisions of the constitution. The Territory being a part of the United States, the government and the citizen both enter it under the authority of the constitution, with their respective rights defined and marked out; and the Federal Government can exercise no power over his person or property, beyond what that instrument confers, nor lawfully deny any right which it has reserved."

A reference to a few of the provisions of the constitution will illustrate this proposition.

For example, no one, we presume, will contend that Congress can make any law for a Territory, respecting the *establishment of religion* or the *free exercise thereof*, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people of the Territory peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for the redress of grievances. *Nor can Congress deny to the people the right to keep and bear arms, nor the right to trial by jury*, nor compel any one to be a witness against himself in a criminal proceeding.

These powers and others in relation to rights of person, which it is not necessary here to enumerate, are, in express and positive terms, denied to the

General Government; and the rights of private property have been guarded with equal care. Thus the rights of property are united with the rights of person, and placed on the same ground, by the fifth amendment of the constitution, which provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty and property, without due process of law. And an Act of Congress which deprives a citizen of the United States of his liberty or property, merely because he came himself, or brought his property, into a particular Territory of the United States, and who had committed no offence against the laws, could hardly be dignified with the name of "due process of law."

So, too, it will hardly be contended that Congress could by law quarter a soldier in a house in a Territory without the consent of the owner, in time of peace; nor in time of war, except in a manner prescribed by law. Nor could they by law forfeit the property of a citizen, in a Territory, who was convicted of treason, for a longer period than the life of the person convicted; nor take private property for public use without just compensation.

The powers over person and property of which we speak are not only *not* granted to Congress, but are in express terms denied, and Congress is forbidden to exercise them. And this prohibition is not confined to the States, but the words are general, and extend to the whole territory over which the constitution gives power to legislate, including those portions of it remaining under Territorial government, as well as that covered by State government. It places the citizens of a Territory, so far as these rights are concerned, *on the same footing* *with citizens of the States, and guards them as firmly and plainly* against *any inroads* which the General Government might attempt, under the plea of implied or incidental powers. And if Congress itself cannot do this—if it is beyond the powers conferred on the Federal Government—it will be admitted, we presume, that it could not authorize a Territorial government to exercise them. It could confer no power on any local government, established by its authority, to violate the provisions of the constitution.

Now let us see what Chief Justice Chase said in the Englebrecht decision:

> The theory upon which the various governments for portions of the Territory of the United States have been organized has ever been that of leaving to the inhabitants all the powers of self-government consistent with the supremacy and supervision of national authority, and with certain fundamental principles established by Congress. As early as 1784 an ordinance was adopted by the Congress of the Confederation, providing for the division of all the territory ceded, or to be ceded, into States, with boundaries ascertained by the ordinance. These States were severally authorized to adopt for their temporary government the constitution and laws of any one of the States, and provision was made for their ultimate admission, by delegates, into the Congress of the United States. We thus find that the first plan for the establishment of governments in the Territories authorized the adoption of State governments from the start, and committed all matters of *internal legislation* to the *discretion* of the inhabitants, unrestricted otherwise than by the State constitution originally adopted by them.

This ordinance, applying to all Territories ceded or to be ceded, was superseded three years later by the ordinance of 1787, restricted in its application to the Territory north-west of the river Ohio—the only Territory which had been actually ceded to the United States.

It provided for the appointment of the Governor and three judges of the court, who were authorized to adopt, for the temporary government of the district, such laws of the original States as might be adapted to its circumstances. But as soon as the number of adult male inhabitants should amount to five thousand, they were authorized to elect representatives, who were required to nominate ten persons from whom Congress should elect five to constitute a legislative council; and the House and Council thus selected and appointed were thenceforth to constitute the Legislature of the Territory, which was authorized to elect a delegate to Congress, with the right of debating, but not of voting. This Legislature, subject to the negative of the Governor, and certain fundamental principles and provisions embodied in articles of compact, was clothed with the full power of legislation for the Territory.

In all the Territories full power was given to the Legislature over all ordinary subjects of legislation. The terms in which it was granted were various, but the import was the same in all.

The doctrine, in the early days of this government, was that the people who scattered themselves over the Territories, who encountered the Indians, and who built up towns, cities and villages in the Territories of the United States, and erected railroads and telegraphs, should be a State *ad interim.*

This same doctrine was adopted by Congress in 1850; when General Cass in the great discussion on the compromise bill,—when for the first time in the history of our Government, Calhoun and his pro-slavery friends, for the purpose of extending slavery into Territories then free, assumed and declared that Congress could interfere with the *domestic relations* in Territories,—replied: "During "the pendency of the Territorial Government they "should be allowed to manage their own concerns "in their own way. Does not slavery come within "this category? Is it not a domestic concern? Is "not that the doctrine of the South—of common "sense indeed? No Territorial Government was "ever established which had not power to regulate "the domestic relations of husband and wife, of "parent and child, of guardian and ward; and if "the inhabitants are competent to manage these "great interests, and indeed the interests belonging "to all the departments of society, including the "issues of life and death, are they not competent to "manage the relation of master and servant, involv"ing the condition of slavery?"

A prominent journal, in discussing the point, said: "To us it appears that, from the earliest times, the "policy has been to leave all matters of internal "legislation to the Legislative Assembly, as soon as "there was one, in a Territory of the United States. "The only deviation to be found from this rule was "when the agitation about slavery prompted at"tempts at exceptional provisions for or against it. "It was at the very time that Utah was erected "into a Territory that adverse pretensions on the "subject of slavery in the Territories received a "quietus, in the measures of 1850, advocated by

" Clay, Webster, Douglass, Cass and other eminent
" Statesmen. They framed and advocated the
" several Acts, among them the Act organizing
" Utah, by which, without proscribing slavery or
" protecting slavery, the matter was left to the
" people of the Territory, like all other local sub-
" jects, and with the best results. Slavery never
" was introduced into either New Mexico or Utah,
" both organized on the same principle of leaving
" all domestic institutions to the local law. General
" Cass, in the debate on the subject, gave its true
" history, as above quoted. And as to the entire
" power of the several Territorial Legislatures—
" subject to revision by Congress—to manage all
" their domestic matters, in their own way, Chief
" Justice Campbell, of Michigan, one of the very
" ablest, purest and most learned judges on the
" bench of this Union, in 21 Michigan, page 75, in
" the case of Crane *vs.* Reeder, says:

Immediately after the Government of the United States was organized under the constitution, a brief Statute was passed to adapt the ordinance of the constitution, not to change its nature, but as stated in the preamble, in order that it "may continue to have full effect." And so long as the system should continue, the whole legal regulation was clearly relegated to the Territory, as it was afterwards to Michigan when separately organized.

Then, under the old common law notions, the creation of such a government would be at least an equivalent to the erection of a Country Palatine, and would transfer all necessary sovereign prerogatives. But under this ordinance the Territory not only differed from a State in holding derivative instead of independent functions, but in being subject to such changes as Congress might adopt. But, until revoked or annulled, an Act of the Territory was just as obligatory as an Act of Congress, and for the same reasons.

Congress, in 1850, acting on this theory of the entire separation of all the duties and acts of the United States officers in Utah from those of the territorial officers thereof, in enacting the organic act for Utah, had provided by sec. 10, as follows:

There shall be appointed for the District of Utah a United States District Attorney, who shall continue in office four years unless sooner removed by the President; and who shall receive the same pay and emoluments as the attorney of the U. S. for Oregon; and there shall also be appointed a United States Marshal for the Territory of Utah, who shall execute all processes issuing from said Courts, when exercising their jurisdiction as Circuit and District Courts of the United States. He shall perform the same duties and be subject to the same pay as the Marshal of the present Territory of Oregon.

The duties of the United States District Attorney for Utah are thus defined by the Act of Congress of September 24, 1819, sec. 35, vol. 1, U. S. at large:

There shall be appointed in each district a person learned in the law to act as the attorney of the U. S. in such district, who shall be sworn, &c.; and whose duty it shall be to prosecute in such district all delinquents for crimes or offences cognizable under the authority of the United States, and all civil actions in which the United States shall be concerned, except in the Supreme Court.

And by the 2d sec. of the same act, the duty of United States marshals are thus defined:

It shall be their duty to attend the District and Circuit Courts, when sitting, and to execute, throughout their districts, all lawful processes directed to them, and issued under the authority of the United States.

By the same organic law of Utah it was provided "that the first six days of every term of the Terri-"torial District Court, or so much thereof as shall "be necessary, shall be appropriated to the trial of "clauses under the law of the United States;" and during those six, or any other days, when the courts were engaged in enforcing the laws of the United States, the U. S. Marshal and District Attorney performed precisely the same duties as the same officers would do in the Federal Courts, in the States of the Union.

The Territorial Legislature, to enforce territorial laws, had, on March 3d, 1852, provided by statute for the election of a Territorial marshal and attorney-general, by a joint vote of both branches of the legislative council, by which all the duties of attorney-general were thus defined. "To attend to "all legal business on the part of the Territory "before the Courts, where the Territory is a party, "and prosecute Indians accused of crimes, in the "district in which he keeps his office, under the laws "of the Territory of Utah." And the duties of territorial marshal were declared to be "to execute "all orders and processes of the Supreme and Dis-"trict Courts of the Territory, in all cases arising "under the laws of the Territory."

This latter statute had been affirmed by Congress, for over 22 years, by its tacit approval thereof—and so had become, to all intents, the law of Congress itself.

It will thus be seen that, by the Acts of Congress, the duties of U. S. Dist. Attorney and marshal for Utah were precisely the same as those in all the States of the Union, while the offices of Territorial attorney-general and marshal were the same as those of attorney-general and sheriff of the several States.

Under this state of things the conspirators deemed it necessary at the outset to get rid of the Territorial marshal and Attorney-General, and vest their duties in the United States Marshal and District Attorney. They also wished to nullify the statutes of Utah, providing for the drawing and impaneling of grand and petit jurors, as they could not otherwise use the courts as instrumentalities for the destruction of the Mormons.

The first move in this direction was made in 1870, in the proceedings of Chas. H. Hempstead, U. S. District Attorney, against Zerubbabel Snow, Attorney-General of Utah, the result of which was that Snow was removed from office, and his duties devolved upon Hempstead, in violation both of the laws of Utah and of the United States.

At the same time a similar course was taken by Hempstead against the Territorial marshal, John D. T. McAllister, which ultimated in the removal of that officer and the assumption of his duties by J. M. Orr, U. S. Marshal.

So long as these absurd decisions remained unreversed by that of the Supreme Court of the United States, which, in the case of Snow *vs.* Hempstead, was finally done in October, 1873, the governmental machinery of Utah was held in the hands of the United States judicial officers, who made use of their power to vex and punish the Mormons for pretended offences.

This was done by means of packed juries, perjured witnesses, and prosecutions conducted by men who were alike ignorant and regardless of law. During the period embracing the years 1870 to 1873, until the United States Supreme Court overruled McKean, and decided that it was "Snow's "duty to prosecute all those persons charged with "crimes against the statutes of Utah, and McAllis-"ter's duty to draw and impanel all grand and petit "jurors," the United States had expended in this direction over $30,000, and President Young and some sixty to eighty of his people had been illegally indicted for alleged crimes of every name and nature, had suffered many months of false imprisonment at Camp Douglas and in the jails of Salt Lake City and County, and had paid to attorneys and witnesses many thousands of dollars.

The second step on the part of the conspirators was a process entirely ignoring and blotting out the Statutes of Utah in regard to procuring grand and petit juries for district courts, and enabling Marshal Patrick to select as such jurors any persons whom he might choose, the selection in every case being made, of course, from the most bitter and malignant enemies of the Mormon people.

*Pendente lite*, Hempstead resigned the office of

U. S. District Attorney, and Justice McKean appointed R. N. Baskin to succeed him in an office which no one has any right to fill unless nominated by the President, and confirmed by the Senate of the United States. It was not until November, 1871, that the lawful successor of Hempstead was appointed by Grant. At this juncture of affairs a collision between the judicial authorities of Utah and the Mormon people seemed inevitable. Great alarm existed all over the United States as well as in Utah. But these gross perversions of law, and Justice McKean's wild and extraordinary charge to the packed grand jury, aroused the public mind; and the Administration at Washington was spurred to action.

Meantime, the illegally-appointed U. S. Attorney, Baskin, had drawn and signed various indictments, which were presented and filed in court by the illegal grand jury, and a very large number of leading Mormons and officers, including the Mayor of Salt Lake City, were arrested and placed in close confinement at Camp Douglas under a military guard commanded by Lieut.-Col. Henry Morrow. This officer had superseded his predecessor, Col. De Trobriand, through the influence of McKean and Doctor Newman, simply because the Colonel had refused to consent to fire upon the Mormon people on the 4th of July, if ordered to do so by the Secretary of the Territory of Utah.

"Bill" Hickman, who had been cut off from the Mormon Church for his crimes, was one of the persons so indicted, and being promised immunity if he would turn State's evidence and swear against

President Young and his people, confessed to the new District Attorney that he had murdered eighteen persons in cold blood. His confinement, however, was merely nominal.

During the Fall of 1871, President Young being in very poor health, went to St. George, in Southern Utah, to spend the winter. Here he was safe from the hands of the assassins, and also beyond the reach of the United States officers at Salt Lake, who were now eager and ready to consign him, through form of law, to the gallows, whether innocent or guilty.

All seemed now ready for the sacrifice, and the conspirators, having full control of the Courts, trampled under foot the Territorial statutes, and claimed to be governed in these prosecutions by the laws of Congress; and there was no appeal, in criminal cases, from their final judgments.

The guilt of the Mormon prisoners had been predetermined, a bitter and unscrupulous press had promulgated its verdict against them, and McKean's judgments were often pre-announced through its columns ere they were filed in court. Attorney General Ackerman was grossly ignorant of all these movements, while Grant had shut his eyes and ears to Utah. In January, 1872, in the Ebbett House, in Washington, Judge McKean avowed his principles to Judge Louis Dent, brother-in-law of the President, in these precise words:

"Judge Dent, the mission which God has called "upon me to perform in Utah, is as much above "the duties of other courts and judges as the "heavens are above the earth, and whenever or "wherever I may find the Local or Federal laws "obstructing or interfering therewith, by God's blessing I shall trample them under my feet."

The conspirators were now ready to consummate their plans. To bring Brigham Young back from St. George, and before a packed petit jury, with paid witnesses upon the stand, it would be an easy matter to secure a verdict of "guilty of murder," and sentence of death was assured. Thus in a single execution was it designed to overthrow President Young, Mayor Wells, and all the other leaders of the Mormon people.

But about this time, November 1871, the President and his cabinet became at last alarmed at the aspect of affairs in Utah. Fears arose that Brigham Young and his 140,000 people might be goaded to madness by these illegal acts, and by force of arms resist their consummation. At the urgent request of General Benjamin H. Bristow, and by the advice of Senator Trumbull, Judges David Davis and Drummond and Blodgett of Illinois, a United States District Attorney, Geo. C. Bates, Esq., was appointed to succeed the conspirators' attorney, Baskin, and ordered to proceed to Salt Lake and assume the duties of his office with all possible dispatch.

On the 29th of November, 1871, he arrived there, took the oath of office, and immediately entered upon his duties with this declaration:

"As far as my official prerogative extends, I will "so administer the law, as that all men, irrespective "of caste, color, condition, sect or religion, shall be "protected by its power, and that equal and exact "justice shall be meted out to Christian, Jew, Mormon and Gentile alike."

This new United States District Attorney at once saw that all the criminal proceedings thus far taken by McKean and his coadjutors, were absolutely null and void, and that all the Mormons now in confinement were imprisoned without any authority of law; and he at once determined to stop all further proceedings in the Court until a decision could be obtained on these grave questions, either from Congress or the Supreme Court of the United States. He saw, on a careful examination, that there were no legal indictments against the parties in prison, no legal petit jury in court to try them, but a body of men packed and selected for their bitter and avowed hatred of the Mormons and their President. He found also that there was not a single dollar in the hands of the United States Marshal to pay jurors or witnesses' fees, or any other expenses of the Court; and, further, that the United States Comptroller at Washington had not recognized Baskin as United States District Attorney for Utah, and had positively refused to pay one cent for expenses incurred in any cases where the Territorial laws had been violated. On the other hand, the Territorial authorities being fully aware of the gross violations of the law by McKean and his coadjutors, would not pay one dollar to these Federal usurpers.

A debt of over $30,000 for some one to pay had been created by these criminal prosecutions, which, they being null and void, was worthless.

Thus the U. S. District Attorney found himself placed in a delicate and trying position, for it was evident that as soon as McKean should find his proceedings set aside as illegal, he, and Newman, who was almost omnipotent at Washington, would seek his removal; but with a strict sense of justice, he proved himself equal to the emergency. He placed himself at once in constant communication with Solicitor-General Bristow, then acting Attorney-General at Washington—one of the ablest and purest men who has occupied that position for many years. The next step in the programme was to gain time. To this end he continued all criminal cases on McKean's calendar at Salt Lake to as late a date as possible, fixing the time for the case of the U. S. *vs.* Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders, for the pretended murder of one Yates, on January 12th, 1872.

At this time was manifested another striking revelation of the towering genius of Brigham Young. It was midwinter; he was in poor health; a journey of 350 miles must be made through sleet and storm, to answer the outrageous summons of McKean's court, to appear for trial at Salt Lake City. It seemed as simple a matter as it was just for President Young to answer that he would not heed the summons—at least not until Spring. Moreover, he was surrounded by his faithful councilors, every one of whom earnestly entreated him to disregard the mandate of the court; and ten thousand brave men, every one of whom would have died for him, were near.

"No," said he, "it is right to go; the Lord says "go; it will take their weapons from their hands." And in the dead of winter he journeyed those 350 miles to face the officers of the district court, and proclaim his willingness to be tried, even on their illegal process.

Arrived at Salt Lake City, he promptly surrendered himself. His attorney, acting on McKean's decision that the crime charged in the indictment was an offence against the statutes and sovereignty of the United States, moved the Court under the laws of the United States, that it should admit Brigham Young to bail in the sum of $500,000; but, although there were Gentiles then in Court who offered to sign his bail bond and qualify, the motion was overruled, and President Young was ordered into close custody of a United States marshal. He was confined in his own house and forced to pay the marshal for his guardianship, ten dollars per day. This confinement continued for one hundred and twenty days, three weeks of which was after the Supreme Court of the United States had unanimously decided in the case of Englebrecht, already cited, that the grand jury who found the indictment was an illegal body, drawn and impaneled in defiance of all law—making the imprisonment of these leaders a crime.

Mr. Bates next procured a still further continuance of all public business upon the calendar, from January 12 to March 12, 1872, and, having obtained permission, proceeded at once to Washington, where he issued a printed circular, addressed to Congress, at the same time orally addressing the Territorial and judiciary committees of both Houses, and thus thrice furnished the representatives of the nation with an accurate narrative of the matters pending in the courts of Utah. He entreated them to arrest all further prceedings, or else to appropriate sufficient money to pay all witnesses, jurors, and the court's expenses, so that pending cases could be tried and ended forever. But in vain did he plead the injustice of the false imprisonment of the Mormon leaders. Congress would not appropriate money for either past or future expenses in the prosecution of these pretended offences against the Territorial laws of Utah, and would make no order dismissing the cases now pending in McKean's court. Then Mr. Bates applied to Attorney-Gen. Williams to move forward on the calendar of the Supreme Court of the United States the case of Englebrecht *vs.* Jeter, Clinton *et al*, pending on appeal, to have the same argued and decided at once, and thereby the law as to these proceedings would be settled forever. After many weeks' delay, and only after a near relative of President Grant had been retained and paid a large fee as counsel, did Attorney-General Williams move the Court, when the case of Englebrecht was advanced upon the calendar of the United States Supreme Court, and in April, 1872, the decision which we have before cited was made; and in that decision the Court decided as the District Attorney had predicted they would, viz.: "that the grand and petit juries summoned by McKean were both drawn in violation "of law; that they could only be drawn under the "statutes of Utah, even in cases where the United "States laws had been violated; that McAllister, "Territorial marshal, *de facto*, could alone serve the "venire, no matter whether he was legally in office "or not; that United States Marshal Patrick had

" no authority to serve the venire, or in any manner
" to intermeddle with the manner of drawing jurors,
" and, as a legal consequence, all the indictments
" now pending in the courts of Utah were null and
" void; that Brigham Young and his Mormon
" brethren must be discharged from confinement,
" and the records of this judicial conspiracy ex-
" punged."

McKean had, in the meantime, followed Bates to Washington, and had entered upon the more congenial duties of a lobbyist, besetting the committees and members of Congress to appropriate the nation's money to enable him to continue his unlawful and iniquitous crusade against Brigham Young and the Mormon people. He sat in court and heard the reading of this unanimous and able opinion, and listened to it in blank amazement, while all his decrees, judgments and sentences were expunged and emasculated; and his victims, just now under the shadow of the gallows, were to be set free forever.

Although this decision was immediately telegraphed to Marshal Patrick at Salt Lake, with orders to release and discharge all the prisoners in custody or under bail, yet Judge Hawley, being in sympathy with McKean, and the acting District Attorney, in collusion with Governor Wood, disregarded the orders of the Attorney-General at Washington; and the Mormon prisoners were kept imprisoned for three weeks longer until a certified copy of the decision of the Supreme Court could be obtained and filed in McKean's court. Thus ended the first act in this judicial conspiracy, to the utter confusion and disgrace of the conspirators.

From the time of this decision, down to the close of Congress in 1872, McKean, as lobbyist, sought to have Congress pass a bill conferring upon the United States District Attorney and Marshal, of Utah only, the powers which he had already erroneously decided they possessed.

Congress, however, had studied the law regulating the Territorial governments, and dared not go before the country, then, on an issue against so able a decision.

Before Mr. Bates left Washington, he had a protracted interview with the President, and laid before him a plan, looking to a settlement through the Supreme Court of the United States, of the vexed question of polygamy, by having six leading polygamists indicted under the Act of Congress of 1862, and test cases made of them; these six cases to be tried in McKean's court, *pro forma*, and convicted; then, under a special Act of Congress, to be passed for that purpose, they should be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the validity of the Act of 1862, under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, should be finally settled. The Mormon leaders agreed to abide by and submit to that decision, whatever it might be, and Delegate George Q. Cannon, in the presence of Attorney-General Williams, offered to be one of these test cases. This plan pleased the President, and Mr. Bates started back to Utah to hasten the impaneling of the grand jury, the court being then in session, in time to have these indictments found before the Republican convention should be held in Philadelphia, June 9, 1872, but all in vain; the secret leaked out and the court instantly adjourned *sine die*, and on the return of the District Attorney to Salt Lake, it was too late to carry out the plan agreed upon.

At the next October term, 1872, of McKean's court, the District Attorney again applied for a grand jury to take up these test cases of polygamy, but the wily judge kept it under advisement several days, and then under the plea of having already too much business in his court, refused to order a venire, his motive, in reality, being to avoid the test. Although ten years had elapsed since Congress had passed the law against polygamy, that law had never yet been enforced. President Lincoln on the moment of its passage refused to approve or sign it. He appointed Hosea Stout—a Mormon polygamist—as United States District Attorney for Utah, in 1862, and declared openly that he had very grave doubts as to the right of Congress to interfere with domestic relations in the Territories. No instructions to enforce that law ever issued from the Department of Justice.

McKean had been thwarted at every point. The indictments which his illegal grand jury had found against many of the Mormons for "Lewd and lascivious co-habitation with their plural wives," were all swept away by the Englebrecht decision. He now adopted a new policy, and for three years carried it out,—which was to hinder and delay the business of the Courts of Utah, civil and criminal, to impanel no juries, either grand or petit, till Congress was coerced to pass a law by which the Mormons, whether actual polygamists or only religious believers therein, should be kept off all juries, and all polygamic wives could apply for divorce and have alimony given them. In direct violation of the Englebrecht decision, ordering petit juries to be drawn from term to term, McKean decided that they were illegal because drawn by McAllister, the Territorial marshal. The Chief Justice declared upon one occasion that he "would starve every "lawyer out of Utah, if necessary, to show Con- "gress that other and further legislation was indis- "pensable."

In the meantime, McKean, having sole control of all judicial matters in Utah, anarchy reigned supreme. Criminals languished in prison, and litigants in court, even in civil cases, from 1872 to 1874, were left without any remedy at law, simply because the Chief Justice would not yield obedience to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States; and President Grant, blinded by false advice, would not remove McKean from an office to which he was a living disgrace.

In the meantime, wherever an opportunity offered under cover of the law to prosecute any of the Mormons, where no jurors were required, McKean and his fellow conspirators did not fail to improve it.

An attempt was made, in the Spring of 1874, by McKean's friends, to get possession of the records, papers, and treasures of Salt Lake City, in the name of a self-constituted people's committee, more than half of whom were non-taxpayers of the city. Judge Sutherland, however, argued with such consummate clearness and force that there was no power in the court to grant a mandamus, that the counsel for the relators, the ablest lawyers of the entire clique, waived the mandamus and gave it up, while Justice McKean was eager, in violation of all precedent, to grant it. Had success crowned this effort, Salt Lake City would have gone at once into the hands of a ring,—like that which has plundered New York.

At the August election of 1874, by a pre-arranged conspiracy, the ballot boxes of Tooele County were stuffed with illegal votes to the number of thousands, more than two-thirds of those votes being cast by non-residents. Thus men were elected through fraudulent votes, and received certificates and commissions of office in gross violation of law. The statutes of Utah provide that the title to an office can only be tried by a writ of *quo warranto*, and if the incumbents in Tooele County had usurped their offices, or held them contrary to law, they could only be punished and ousted after trial by a *quo warranto* and verdict of a jury thereon; but in spite of all law, McKean denied a trial by jury, found the facts himself, and then gave judgment in each case in favor of the gentile ballot-box stuffers, against the Mormon legal voters and tax-payers, and by mandamus compeled the latter to turn over to the former, books, records, offices, etc. In January, 1875, these cases were again very elaborately argued in the Supreme Court, but Justice McKean and his associate, Justice Boreman, refused to consider or decide the causes, simply to leave their colleagues in fraud in office until their term expired.

But the case of Ann Eliza Webb,—a name now familiar to the world, demonstrates still further the futile attempts of McKean to rob and destroy the Mormon people. This woman, who was the wife of one Dee, and the mother of his two children, became the celestial or plural wife of President Young, under the ceremonies of the Mormon creed, while he was living openly with his legal wife, to whom he was married in 1833, at Kirtland, Ohio. The Act of Congress of 1862 made this plural marriage a crime, punishable if prosecuted within two years after the second marriage. Of course the marriage was, by law, utterly null and void. Ann Eliza well knew this, and so also did McKean. He had been an eye-witness of the fact for five years. There were several plain objections to granting her prayer for divorce and alimony, viz.:

1st.—At that time Probate Courts had jurisdiction over all matters of divorce and alimony.

2d.—The District Court had no power to meddle therein.

3d.—There had been no lawful marriage between Ann Eliza and Brigham Young, and, of course, there could be no lawful divorce or alimony.

Notwithstanding these facts, which were well-known to McKean, this malignant usurper,—who should have dismissed this bill of complaint as soon as he had read it, as absurd, and, in any case, as one over which he had no jurisdiction,—entertained and kept it in court over two years, and in violation of all law and equity, awarded to the counsel of Ann Eliza the sum of $3,000, and to her the sum of $9,500 alimony, pending decision. He also awarded her $500 per month until Brigham Young could prove by witnesses in court, his answer, when he would dismiss her bill, deny a divorce, and give defendant costs, but not until he had first robbed him of from $15,000 to $20,000 for alimony. He also ordered that, if counsel fee was not paid in ten days, and alimony in twenty days thereafter, President Young should be imprisoned for contempt of court. Acting on the advice of counsel, who had taken an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States from this decree, President Young refused to pay counsel fees until after argument on the appeal, whereupon McKean ordered this venerable and reverend leader of a people, on one of the coldest, stormiest days of March, to be confined in a penitentiary. It was this last straw which broke the judicial camel's back. It was so notoriously in violation of accepted law that a woman, the seventeenth plural wife, so-called,—a relation not legally recognized at all,—should have alimony granted her by a so-called christian Judge, that the moral sense of the President and his Cabinet was at length shocked, and the Bench and Bar everywhere uprose against such an enormity. It resulted in McKean's instant removal and disgrace; and with him fell a system of judicial tyranny, the like of which never before disgraced the annals of American jurisprudence.

Thus ended the five long years of persecution of Brigham Young and his people, through a conspiracy which resulted in the complete disgrace and overthrow of the conspirators.

The new Chief Justice was an honest man, and would not lend himself to any system of fraud or injustice, and, in the case of Ann Eliza, he determined that the order for alimony should be expunged from the record. But this did not occur, however, until its victim had been imprisoned, and had paid over $4,000 for counsel fees, and two months' alimony.

The five years of judicial mal-administration of McKean in Utah may be summarized as follows:

1st.—$100,000, of United States public money, belonging to the Department of Justice, have been squandered there.

2d.—No Mormon has ever been convicted, during that period, of any offence against the laws of the Territory, or of the United States, except:

3d.—The case of the United States *vs.* George Reynolds, for polygamy, where the verdict of guilty was found by a jury, nine of whom were Mormon polygamists; and the witnesses who furnished all the evidence, including the plural wife herself, were all polygamists—which case is expected to go to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the validity of the Act of '62 will be finally settled, as it would have been in '72, had not the plan then agreed upon been frustrated by the Federal officials in Utah.

4th.—These illegal prosecutions, including the false imprisonment of Brigham Young and the leaders of the people, have cost them in counsel fees, loss of time, and injuries to their business, at least $500,000.

5th.—The panic and alarm created thereby in the States of the Union, and the fear of a collision between the authorities and the Mormon people, have driven or kept away millions of dollars of capital.

A single word in view of this remarkable history: as verified by the records, it is demonstrated that in every case where the court sought to rob, oppress, vex and harass President Young and his people, to deprive them of their lives, liberty and property, it was finally overruled by the special judgment of heaven, in the decisions of the Supreme Court, and McKean's successors in office. McKean's own wicked acts, decrees, and judgments became the instruments of his downfall, disgrace and end. The authorities in Washington were compelled to officially decapitate him, solely by reason of his violation of the law, and of equity and good conscience, thus going to prove that now, as in the past, Brigham Young and that chosen people are under the especial care and protection of heaven, and that all who have sought by wicked and criminal means to destroy or injure them, have, sooner or later,—as in case of Drummond, Harding, Wood, Hawley, Ashley, Colfax, Cullom Poland, Williams, and others,—been confounded or disgraced.

# CHAPTER XXXI.

CONGRESSIONAL MATTERS SUBSEQUENT TO 1870. POLYGAMIC THEOCRACY BOLDLY SUBMITTED AT THE NATIONAL CAPITAL. DELEGATE CANNON'S CONGRESSIONAL CAREER. GENERAL GRANT VISITS UTAH. MEETING OF THE PRESIDENTS.

While affairs in Utah were in the condition just narrated, it seemed as if Providence determined that the Mormon case in its entirety should be sent to Washington. Delegate Hooper, who had represented Utah most efficiently and untiringly for ten years on the floor of the House, and who, in addition to this, had spent nearly two years in Washington as Senator elect, trying to get the Territory admitted as a State, having served so long and faithfully, it was deemed best to relieve him from the arduous duties of the position. Moreover, he needed rest and the privilege of attending to his affairs at home, and enjoying the society of his family and friends. The question then arose, with many, "Who will be sent as delegate?" Many excellent friends felt that it would be a great misfortune to lose the services of Mr. Hooper at such a time. No man was better known in Washington than he. His reputation was excellent, and though known as a Mormon, it was generally understood that he was not a practical polygamist. He had served the Territory efficiently and to the satisfaction of his constituents. Others, with excellent motives, but with little faith in the value of the Mormon movement in the age, not only counseled the sending of a conservative Gentile at that period to Congress, but the renunciation of polygamy itself, and the practical abandonment of the Mormon mission in its vast society aims, allowing the Church to quietly settle down to a "respectable" religious sect. Not so, however, will the Mormons ever think. President Young and his compeers never will resign their mission, nor the Mormon people prove so unworthy as to give up the fraction, even, of their institutions. The general feeling among the clearest thinkers of Utah was, to send a strictly socialistic representative man. In the person of George Q. Cannon they had such a man. "But," it was urged by some timid persons, "he is "an apostle and a polygamist. If you send him, "your enemies will say that you mean to defy pub-"lic sentiment, and you will be sure to evoke strong "opposition." President Young, however, was in favor of his nomination, and the people determined to elect him. They certainly had the right, under the constitution, to choose whom they pleased to represent them, so long as he possessed the constitutional qualifications. What had a representative's religion or family relations to do with his qualifications for Congress? Catholics and Jews had been deemed suitable for legislators in free America, and why should Mormons be deprived of this right?

It was a grand manifestation of faith and righteousness, when George Q. Cannon, an apostle and polygamist, was sent to Congress. The Mormon people have never from the first moment shirked their responsibilities, but have ever courted a righteous trial of their cause. Milton's motto: "Give "truth a fair and an open field; let her grapple with "error; whoever knew truth worsted?"—has been well applied in their case. They have never shunned investigation, but have ever met with resignation even their imprisonments and martyrdoms. At this very period President Young, as we have seen, had just submitted to arrest and imprisonment, from which he was only relieved by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Upon consideration, the honorable anti-Mormon must confess that next to giving up their "institution," the most proper thing for the Mormon people to do, was to boldly send their cause to Congress, in the person of a polygamic representative. It was Congress that gave them an anti-polygamic law, which even a missionary judge could not twist into an effective form: Congress, that was everlastingly in travail with special legislation for Utah: Congress and the President of the United States, who insisted that "polygamic theocracy" must be brought to trial somewhere or somehow. "Polygamic theocracy" could therefore have chosen no better field of mission for one of its ablest apostles than Congress itself. Half a dozen earnest Mormon elders in Congress, would be the rarest godsend that the nation has seen for the last quarter of a century.

The institutions of that people are truly embodied in President Young, but he could not go to Congress to stand in their stead. One therefore had to be chosen worthy both to represent Brigham Young and the Mormons, as a people, as well as the general interests of Utah, as a Territory. George Q. Cannon was the man, and there is no doubt that his election meant as much in the minds of the whole community.

Delegate Cannon was elected to Congress in the Fall of 1872. One George R. Maxwell, Register of the Land Office of the Territory, had been a candidate for the same office in 1870, against Delegate Hooper, but had been badly beaten, receiving only a few hundred votes as against over 26,000 in favor of Mr. Hooper. On the strength of this meagre vote, he contested the seat, collected a mass of testimony, and put the delegate to the trouble and expense of rebutting it. He relied mainly for his success on the prejudices which he knew existed against the Mormons; he also accused Mr. Hooper of disloyalty, and of having taken part against the Government during the Buchanan troubles; and of being unfitted as a delegate in Congress, by reason of having taken the "endowment oath." He failed, however, to accomplish anything in the matter; but, when Mr. Cannon was nominated as candidate for delegate, he doggedly renewed the contest, and made no concealment of his expectations that he would get the seat. In his notice of contest, Maxwell did not accuse Mr. Cannon of being in rebellion during Buchanan's time, but he made the same charge concerning the "endowment oath" as he had against his predecessor, with the additional charge of his having conspired with Brigham Young and others to intimidate voters, under threats of death if they did not vote for him; and also charged him with living in polygamy in "violation of the laws of God and his country," with four wives. At the opening of the 43d Congress, Maxwell was present, and with some friends to help him, endeavored to create an influence among members adverse to the delegate elect. When the members were being sworn in, he succeeded in inducing Mr. Merriam, of New York, to introduce a resolution into the House embodying in brief his charges against Mr. Cannon. According to the rules of the House, one objection, offered by a member, can prevent the swearing in of another, until it is disposed of by the House. He therefore had to step aside until the other delegates were sworn in; then the resolution came up for discussion. The leading men of both political parties spoke against the resolution. The reading of his certificate of election was demanded, and as it stated that his vote was over 20,000 above his opponent's, it created a sensation. It was clear, according to all precedents, and the rules of the House, that he had a strong *prima facie* case, and was fully entitled to his seat. On motion, the resolution was tabled, only one dissenting voice being heard, and he was sworn in.

Every effort was made by the contestant Maxwell, during that session, to get him unseated, but, the committee on electiens, by unanimous vote, decided that Maxwell was not entitled to the seat, and by a like vote delared that Mr. Cannon was.

Upon all subjects connected with the Mormon question, there is great sensitiveness and timidity manifested by members of Congress. They are strongly averse to putting themselves on record in such a manner as to expose them to the charge of being favorable to Mormonism: therefore, when a resolution was introduced by a member by the name of Hazelton, appointing a committee to investigate the Maxwell charges, though many were opposed to it, it received a majority vote. Action, however, was not had upon it during that session, and in the second session of that Congress, although the matter was pushed, in committee, to the extent of recommending a resolution to "exclude" the delegate, it was never considered by the House.

Upon the opening of the 44th Congress, a contestant (Baskin) was ready to urge his case upon the attention of the House of Representatives. But the old members were becoming accustomed to these contests. They knew by past experience how little real merit they possessed. In this instance the contestant for the seat had against him a majority of over 20,000 votes. Those who knew anything of the case, therefore, saw that whatever the objections to Mr. Cannon himself might be, the contestant could lay no just claim to the seat. But the committee on elections were in duty bound to listen to the case. Mr. Baskin made his argument before them, and was replied to, in a powerful argument, by the sitting delegate. At present (June, 1876) the decision of the committee, if they have arrived at any, has not been made public.

In the early part of October, 1875, President Grant and wife, with a party of friends and relatives, journeyed to Salt Lake City, where they were most cordially received by the people. On the day of their arrival in the Territory, President Young and a select party, representing the municipal authorities of Salt Lake City, proceeded by special train to Ogden, to meet and welcome them.

The meeting of the two Presidents was simple but impressive,—one representing the fierce and aggressive bigotry of the age—the other the embodiment of its successful resistance.

The presidential party remained in Salt Lake City but a day and a half.

# CHAPTER XXXII.

UTAH EMERGES FROM HER ISOLATION. TRANSFORMATIONS INCIDENT THERETO. ZION CO-OPERATIVE MERCANTILE INSTITUTION. THE MORMON EMIGRATION. PARTING VIEW OF BRIGHAM YOUNG.

On the advent of the Pacific Railroad the Mormon leader went out to meet and shake hands with civilization with a great shout of joy, and all his people amened his salutation, and sang hallelujahs that the days of isolation were no more. And this was to their minds another literal fulfillment of prophecy. Already, as we have seen, they rejoiced in the fulfillment of that prophecy in which it is declared that "It shall come to pass in the last days that the "mountain of the Lord's house shall be established "in the top of the mountains, and all nations shall "flow unto it," and now, in the opening up of this great highway was the fulfillment of that other prophecy of Isaiah, in which it is written that "a great "highway shall be cast up," and "they shall come "with speed swiftly."

In the altered state of things that quickly ensued Brigham Young met all the conditions. Indeed, so rapid and varied were his transformations during the next few years that he may have often seemed to have been reversing himself and his policies.

The fact is, he was testing his problems; now in his movements advancing, now retreating; now urging his social ideas with all the might of his matchless will, now accepting with resignation the degree of progress attained by the people. This has been strikingly illustrated in his efforts to transform the Mormons into a great co-operative community, and to establish "in Zion" the "Order of Enoch;" thus aiming to create a superior kind of isolation, keeping God and the Devil apart, as of old, and Zion still Zion in the very presence of the gentiles. In these efforts he has been testing only that which is possible,—consistent in all his movements with the mission of his life.

He had long foreseen that isolation in its old forms must pass away. The railroad was coming; a "manifest destiny" was with the railroad. Brigham Young is a man of "destiny." In the interests of his people he became a chief contractor in building the Utah end of the Pacific Railroads; he hastened to construct the Utah Central; he is pushing railroads all over the Territory. Even before the building of these roads he had networked the settlement with lines of telegraph. He has been as successful as a railroad king as he was in leading the Mormons to these valleys. It is not the Walker Brothers, not the Gentiles, not the "Apostates," not Congress, not the civilization that came from abroad as an invader, but Brigham Young and the Mormons, who have given to Utah her railroads and telegraphs. In this, as also in his social and co-operative experiments, he has succeeded as far as developed.

The Mormon people, inspired by the genius of President Young, are now solving one of the most important problems of the age. It is that of a social and commercial commonwealth.

Reformers and Statesmen have long been conscious of a cardinal lacking in the constitutions of the world, as touching its social systems. Even England to-day is without a social system, though she has abundant political machinery, dating back to Alfred the Great. But latterly such men as Robert Dale Owen have brought forth co-operative ideas, and have preached a socialistic gospel as being absolutely necessary to the age.

In this great social movement President Young is in the line of the special mission of his life. A society builder is the type of his ministry; social systems are his offspring.

Early in 1868 the merchants were startled by the announcement "that it was advisable that the "*people* of Utah Territory should become their own "merchants;" and that for this purpose an organization should be created for them expressly for importing and distributing merchandise on a comprehensive plan. When it was asked of President Young, "What do you think the merchants will do "in this matter; will they fall in with this co-operative idea?" he answered, "I do not know; but if "they do not we shall leave them out in the cold, "the same as the Gentiles, and their goods shall "rot upon their shelves." Meeting followed meeting; a committee was appointed to frame a constitution and by-laws, and, without seeing the end from the beginning, their part of the programme was carried out, and an institution formed on paper; subscriptions were solicited, and cash fell into the coffers of the treasurer *pro tem.* This was during the winter months of 1868. With the turn of the year a committee was appointed to commence operations. They waited upon the President for advice, who, in his quiet but decided way said: "Go to work and do it." After a little conversation the question was again suggested: "What shall we do?" With the same sententious brevity, the reply came, "Go to work and do it." But how? We haven't enough money; we haven't the goods; we have no buildings; we haven't sufficient credit. "Go to work " and do it, and I will show you how." Consultations were the order of the day; business men were interviewed; offers of stock began to be made; the leading firms gracefully capitulated, and in a few weeks the full-fledged institution was in existence. Stock was bought, business premises leased, its agents sent east to represent and purchase for it, and its career was opened with a subscribed capital of $250,000, under the name of "Zion Co-operative " Mercantile Institution."

President Young was the principal stockholder, and Geo. A. Smith, Geo. Q. Cannon, Wm. Jennings, H. S. Eldredge, Wm. H. Hooper and others were among the first directors. There was quite a characteristic feature in this accumulation of stock which evinced a thoughtful care for individual interests that should not pass unnoticed. To secure premises it was advisable that the stock of Jennings, and Eldredge, and Clawson should be purchased; and it was also considered fair that the stocks held by others should be largely reduced by purchase or investment, which was done. This policy, shielded from embarrassment those who would otherwise have inevitably suffered from the inauguration and prestige of the Z. C. M. I. Simultaneously with the organization of the parent institution, local organizations were formed in all the settlements of the Territory; each pledged to sustain the one central depot, and to make their purchases from it. The people, with great unanimity, became shareholders in their respective local "co-operatives," and also in the parent co-operative, so that they might enjoy the profits of their own investment and purchases.

It has been a cardinal principle with the Mormon people, and the continued counsel and practice of their leaders, that all articles of consumption should, as speedily as possible, when practicable, be made at home. No sounder principle of political economy was ever promulgated. It was early evident, also, that indiscriminate and uncontrolled importation was not the way to encourage home production; therefore, if importation could be consolidated; if the character of that importation could be canvassed and judiciously guarded; every struggling enterprise at home would be aided, and as soon as supplies were equal to the demand, these products could be distributed to every settlement throughout the mountains. This was the key to the situation; and among the first results of the idea was the increased manufacture of jeans, cotton yarns from home-grown cotton, boots and shoes, clothing, brooms, soap, trunks, leather and other articles, giving employment to many, and opening up that best of all markets—a home demand for home productions.

These ideas popularized the "institution." It was looked upon by the people as belonging to them, as serving their interests, as the guardian of their rights, as the great bulwark against the intrusion of an undesirable element, and an ever-present power against the encroachments and tyranny of capital. As a consequence it grew rapidly, and by increased business and the turning of its capital many times a year, it was able to pay handsome dividends, form a reserve for contingencies, and at the same time extend the circle of its operations, and increase the number of its departments. The promptness with which it met its obligations brought into the commercial world a desire to be favored with its patronage, and thus from an insignificant and despised origin, it sprang almost at a bound to the highest position of commercial credit. Soon its interests became so important, and its patronage so desirable, that the threatened Congressional legislation of '72 and '73 was doubtless modified at the recommendation of its friends. Visitors to Salt Lake City looked through its many departments, and at its immense amount and variety of merchandise with astonishment and wonder, that in the very heart of the mountains should be found a business whose magnitude and status could only be paralleled in the chief cities of the Union.

When the panic of '73 fell upon the country much larger and more experienced business institutions yielded and went down before the gale; yet this institution met with but a momentary faltering; and now it stands erect, its honor uncompromised, its credit unimpaired, and it, as an institution, more fully prepared to fill the mission assigned it by its great founder.

Its officers are a president, vice-president, seven directors, general superintendent, secretary and treasurer.

But aside from its commercial success, President Young has seen in it the stepping-stone to the establishment of other principles of social and political economy. He, with the fire and fervor of the prophetic impulse, knows and tells of the "Order of Zion," to which all the leading movements inaugurated by him tend. His unflinching persistency is bound to tell, and the future will surely witness the fruition of other and grander desires, in behalf of his people, that have moved the heart and purpose of this great and remarkable man.

But the merchant class, both Mormon and Gentile, were opposed to the grand co-operative movement of President Young. This was a matter of course. Moneyed men and monopolists all the world over will ever be opposed to the co-operation of the people and the establishment of anything like a Christian communism. Yet the New Testament examples show that communism "in all things" is the very basis of a true Christianity. And it is also the crowning aim of Mormonism which copies strictly after the old and new examples of the bible. Hence polygamy, hence, too, President Young's desire to establish, before his death, a grand communistic church after the "Order of

Enoch." The Mormons have it in their power to found the most successful commonwealth the world has ever seen. Its success would attract the attention not only of America, but of Europe—indeed of all the world, and multiply the Mormons a hundred fold.

Although President Young has not yet fully prevailed in establishing this order of heaven upon earth, he has at least succeeded as far as the people were prepared for it. To reconcile the "children "of this world" into a perfect brotherhood is no easy task for a great statesman. But his co-operative movements will live, and the principle and spirit of co-operation will permeate all Mormon society.

The civilized world is prophetic of a grand social change, and the Mormon genius is not only susceptible of this change, but pregnant with it; hence the "United Order."

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The Mormon mission, in its prophetic glory, embraces the gathering of a Latter-day Israel and the building up of a Zion on the American continent; but, viewed even in the most practical light, the grand emigrational movement of the Mormons is the most striking social event of the age, and the man who has executed it has wrought a work worthy of a chapter in the history of America.

Brigham Young, as the "Gatherer," is a more palpable character to the American mind than Brigham Young as the "Lion of the Lord." As the emigrator of tens of thousands from Europe, to people the three hundred cities which he has founded on the Pacific Coast he is as understandable to the ordinary citizen as to one of his own apostles. Indeed these vast emigrations of the Mormons from Europe, each year, give renewed evidence that "Mormondom" is a living, growing fact, under the successful management of an empire-founding prophet.

It was Heber C. Kimball who first proclaimed to Great Britain the gathering of the "Latter-day Saints" to America, but it was Brigham Young who started the great emigrational tide.

The first regular company of emigrant Saints, numbering about 200, sailed from Liverpool for New York on the 7th of August, 1840, on board the *North America.* The second vessel was the *Sheffield,* which sailed in February, 1841; and about the time of the departure of the *Sheffield,* a company from Herefordshire and the neighboring counties (the disciples of Apostle Woodruff) sailed from Bristol. Since the expulsion from Nauvoo, the emigration has been direct from Liverpool to Utah, via New Orleans. New York, Philadelphia, Boston and other American ports.

The following epistle-general from the Twelve, dated at Winter Quarters, Omaha Nation, Dec. 23d, 1847, will be of interest in this connection:

> "To the Saints in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and adjacent islands and countries, we say, emigrate as speedily as possible to this vicinity, looking to and following the counsel of the Presidency at Liverpool: shipping to New Orleans, and from thence direct to Council Bluffs, which will save

much expense. Those who have but little means, and little or no labor, will soon exhaust that means if they remain where they are, therefore it is wisdom that they remove without delay; for here is land on which, by their labor, they can speedily better their condition for their further journey. And to all Saints in any country bordering upon the Atlantic, we would say, pursue the same course, come immediately and prepare to go west,—bringing with you all kinds of choice seeds, of grain, vegetables, fruit, shrubbery, trees, and vines—everything that will please the eye, gladden the heart, or cheer the soul of man, that grows upon the face of the whole earth; also the best stock of beast, bird and fowl of every kind; also the best tools of every description, and machinery for spinning, or weaving, and dressing cotton, wool, flax and silk, &c., &c., or models and descriptions of the same, by which they can construct them; and the same in relation to all kinds of farming utensils and husbandry, such as corn shellers, grain threshers and cleaners, smut machines, mills, and every implement and article within their knowledge that shall tend to promote the comfort, health, happiness, or prosperity of any people. So far as it can be consistently done, bring models and drafts, and let the machinery be built where it is used, which will save great expense in transportation, particularly in heavy machinery, and tools and implements generally."

And here must be noticed the covenant of the emigration, to show how faithfully it was kept,—as have been all Brigham Young's covenants as the leader of his people.

Previous to leaving Nauvoo President Young prompted the Latter-day Saints to enter into a solemn covenant in the temple, that they would not cease their exertions until every individual of them who desired and was unable to gather to the valley by his own means was brought to that place. No sooner were they located in the Rocky Mountains, than the Church prepared to fulfill this covenant, extending its application to the Saints in all the world. The subject was introduced at the October conference, in 1849, by President Heber C. Kimball, and a unanimous vote was there and then taken to raise a fund for the fulfillment of the promise. A committee was appointed to raise money, and Bishop Edward Hunter sent to the frontiers to purchase wagons and cattle, to bring the poor Saints from the Pottowatomie lands. About $5,000 were raised that season. This fund was designated "The Perpetual Emigration Fund," and the method of its application is well set forth in the following from a letter to Apostle Orson Hyde, who was at the time presiding at winter quarters:

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY,
October 16th, 1849.

PRESIDENT ORSON HYDE: Beloved brother, we write to you more particularly at this time, concerning the gathering, and the mission of our general agent for the perpetual emigration fund for the coming year, Bishop Hunter, who will soon be with you, bearing the funds already raised in this place.

In the first place, this fund has been raised by voluntary donations, and is to be continued by the same process, and by so managing as to preserve the same, and cause it to multiply.

* * * * As early in the Spring as it will possibly do, on account of feed for cattle, Brother Hunter will gather all his company, organize them

in the usual order, and preside over the camp, traveling with the same to this place, having previously procured the best teamsters possible, such as are accustomed to driving, and will be kind and attentive to their teams.

When the Saints thus helped arrive here, they will give their obligations to the Church to refund to the amount of what they have received, as soon as circumstances will permit; and labor will be furnished, to such as wish, on the public works, and good pay; and as fast as they can procure the necessaries of life, and a surplus, that surplus will be applied to liquidating their debt, and thereby increase the perpetual fund.

By this it will readily be discovered that the funds are to be appropriated in the form of a loan rather than a gift; and this will make the honest in heart rejoice, for they have to labor and not live on the charity of their friends, while the lazy idlers, if any such there be, will find fault and want every luxury furnished them for the journey, and in the end pay nothing. * * *

Brother Hunter will return all the funds to this place next season, when the most judicious course will be pursued to convert all the cattle and means into cash, that the same may be sent abroad as speedily as possible on another mission, together with all that we can raise besides to add to it; and we anticipate that the Saints at Pottowatomie and in the States will increase the fund by all possible means the coming winter, so that our agent may return with a large company.

The few thousands we send out by our agent at this time is like a grain of mustard seed in the earth; we send it forth into the world, and among the Saints, a good soil, and we expect it will grow and flourish, and spread abroad in a few weeks; that it will cover England, cast its shadow on Europe, and in process of time compass the whole earth;

that is to say, these funds are destined to increase until Israel is gathered from all nations, and the poor can sit under their own vine, and inhabit their own house, and worship God in Zion.

We remain your brethren in the gospel,

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
HEBER C. KIMBALL,
WILLARD RICHARDS.

A similar epistle was written to Orson Pratt, the President of the British Mission, saying at the close:

Your office in Liverpool is the place of deposit for all funds received either for this or the tithing funds for all Europe, and you will not pay out only upon our order. and to such persons as we shall direct.

These instructions and general epistles are the more important in the emigrational history, as they are substantially the basis upon which all the emigrations and business thereof have been conducted from that time to the present.

Donations in England were made straightway. The first received was *2s. 6d.* from Mark and Charlotte Shelly of Woolwich, on the 19th of April, 1850. The next was £1 from George P. Waugh of Edinburgh, on the 19th of June; but in time the various emigration funds of the British mission alone became immense.

The mode of conducting the emigrations from Europe was as patriarchal as the Church itself. As the emigration season came round, from every branch and conference the Saints would be gathered and taken to Liverpool by their elders, who saw them on shipboard in vessels chartered for their use. Not a moment were they left to the mercy of "runners" and shipping agents. When on board, the companies, which in some cases have amounted to nearly a thousand souls per ship, were divided into wards, each ward being under its president or bishop, and his two councilors, and each company under its president and councilors; and besides these were the doctor, steward, and cook, with their assistants. During the passage, regular service was daily observed, — morning and evening prayers, preaching meetings and councils. Besides these were numerous entertainments, concerts, dances, &c., so that the trips across the Atlantic were like merry makings, enjoyed by the captains and their officers as much as by the Saints. Reaching America a similar system was pursued on the railroads, up the rivers, and across the plains until the Saints arrived in the valleys, when they were received, in the old time, by Brigham and the authorities in Zion, and sent by Bishop Hunter to the various settlements where they were most needed to people the fast-growing cities of Utah.

As the "Gatherer," Brigham is as colossal as he was in the character of the Mormon Moses in the exodus. In the one, he founded Utah with a brave apostolic band of pioneers; in the other he has peopled Utah from the robust races of Great Britain and Scandinavia. Their children will inhabit these valleys for generations to come, fill up their cities of to-day, and build as many more. The Gentiles may, indeed will, increase in the "land of the Saints," but the Mormons will ever outnumber them ten to one, and they and their children will form the backbone of the State.

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Here, for the time being, we must take a parting view of Brigham Young.

The statue of the man is boldly chiseled in his life, as by his own hands.

In this history we have seen him as the fitting successor of the Mormon Prophet, as the modern Moses, and the founder of Utah. To the popular mind, the whole epic of Mormonism is embodied in the lives and missions of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young; but quorums of great men, in the Mormon sense, have helped to bear the "kingdom" —this ark of "the new and everlasting covenant" —upon their shoulders. And, apostolically viewed, they have been men of great character, great force, and surpassing faith,—which constitute the soul of all new religions that bear the stamp of destiny.

In the history of the Mormons we have seen the real apostolic character, and the manifestation of the superhuman forces of a religion destined to be the beginning of a new dispensation and civilization. The leaders have been like the fishermen who established Christianity, and their disciples like those who laid the foundation of all the christian empires. Such a class of divines, and such a people, under Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, have grown into a mighty power. We have seen their strange works and methods in these chapters. They have not been as polished stones, but, as they liken themselves—as the "little stone cut out of the moun-"tain without hands," forecast by Daniel the Prophet, as the "Latter-day kingdom," which should roll down from the mountain and "fill the "whole earth."

And Brigham Young, in the characteristic work of his life, has made this possible. Without such a man, as Joseph's successor, it never could have been fulfilled. Joseph was a *divine* success; Brigham has clothed it in the body of a great worldly success, and the world who rejected the one has been made to comprehend a successful Mormonism in the other. He has made it comprehend Mormonism in a matchless exodus; he has pioneered America westward; he has founded Utah, with the groundwork of over three hundred cities, some of which will yet be known among the great cities of America. He has, through the elders, missioned a world, and gathered an Israel from many nations; he has, on the Prophet Joseph's pattern, built up a new social and religious system; he has established polygamy, which was alone enough to revolutionize a nation—and not unlikely his organized experiment may markedly affect the marriage question of the world; he has prayed with as much faith as Elijah, and wrought with as much hard sense as Peter the Great; in fine, he has brought to a practical success the strangest religious movement of modern times.

Brigham Young has led his people thirty-three years. Seldom does it fall to the lot of rulers to sway the sceptre so long; still less seldom to keep up in their lives such an unwearied sensation. His name has now provoked and now charmed "all the world." A marvelous psychology has been in that name, to thus prevail.

He has just completed his seventy-fifth year (June 1st, 1876). His will is still matchless; his mind still sound. View the man as we may, Brigham Young is an enduring name. The friction of centuries will not erase it.

# BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES,

SUPPLEMENTARY TO
"LIFE OF BRIGHAM YOUNG; OR, UTAH AND HER FOUNDERS."

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## HEBER C. KIMBALL.

HEBER CHASE KIMBALL was born June 14th, 1801, in the town of Sheldon, Franklin County, Vermont. His father (Solomon Farnham Kimball) and his mother (Anna Spaulding-Kimball) were American born, although of English extraction. Up to the age of nineteen his life was about the same as that of the other lads of his day and situation; a few months of attendance at the common school, and ordinary labor with his father, making up the sum of his opportunities and experiences. At about the age mentioned, however, a change occurred in his father's circumstances which resulted in throwing young Kimball upon his own resources. Being extremely diffident in disposition, and inexperienced in the ways of the world, he suffered many hardships,—two or three times nearly perishing from hunger. His condition being finally brought to the attention of an older brother, he was offered by him an opportunity to learn the potter's trade, which offer he gladly accepted, remaining in apprenticeship until he was twenty-one years of age, and afterward working for his brother as a journeyman. While with his brother they removed to Mendon, Monroe County, New York, where the latter established another pottery. Although this incident was commonplace in itself, it nevertheless brought young Kimball within the circle of those influences that afterward outwrought for him a most wonderful career

In the Fall of 1823 he was married to Miss Vilate Murray, of Victor, Ontario County, New York, and shortly thereafter purchased his brother's business, and settled down to the quiet prosecution of the same.

While thus employed, it must not be forgotten, he often brought his mind to the consideration of the subject of religion, and was finally persuaded to an expression of faith which led him to join the Baptist Church. Only a few weeks elapsed thereafter, however, when the fame of certain elders of the Church of Latter-day Saints reached his ears, and, being prompted by curiosity, he went to see them at the house of Phineas H. Young, in Victor, when he, to use his own words, " for the first time " heard the fullness of the everlasting gospel." Speaking of his subsequent confirmation, he said, " Under the ordinances of baptism and laying on of " hands, I received the Holy Ghost, as the disciples " did in ancient days, which was like a consuming " fire; and I was clothed in my right mind, although " the people called me crazy. I continued in this "way for many months, and it seemed as though "my flesh would consume away; at the same time "the Scriptures were unfolded to my mind in such "a wonderful manner that it appeared to me at "times as if I had formerly been familiar with "them."

Being ordained an elder by Joseph Young, he, in company with him and Brigham Young, labored in Genesee, Avon and Lyonstown, where many were baptized and church organizations effected. About this time these three went to Kirtland, Ohio, where for the first time they saw the Prophet, Joseph Smith.

In the Fall of 1833, he removed to Kirtland, being acompanied on the journey by Brigham Young.

Passing over the less noteworthy events which followed, we come at once to the incident which was the determining point in his marked career. Of that event his journal says:

> On or about the first day of June, 1837, the Prophet Joseph came to me, while I was seated in the front stand, above the sacrament table, on the Melchisedec side of the temple, in Kirtland, and whispering to me, said: "Brother Heber, the Spirit of the Lord has whispered to me, 'let my servant Heber go to England and proclaim my gospel, and open the door of salvation to that nation.'"

With much misgiving as to his ability and worth, he nevertheless accepted the "mission," and set about its accomplishment. Of the remarkable success that rewarded his labors, in conjunction with his compeers of the British mission, the Mormon emigration is a living monument. More particularly does this remark apply to his second mission, along with Brigham Young and others, in 1840, when was performed one of the greatest missionary works since the days of Christ's apostles.

After his return from the British Mission, Heber labored in his apostolic calling chiefly, being but little with his family. At the time of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, he was out, with nearly every member of his quorum, on mission to the Eastern States. He was the right hand man of Brigham Young in the exodus; and was one of the 143 pioneers. He returned with his chief to winter quarters to gather up the body of the Saints, and while there was chosen first councilor of Brigham in the reorganization of the First Presidency of the Church. To the end of his eventful life he continued the faithful counselor and friend of his chief, between whom and himself there had existed for forty-three years one of those remarkable friendships which authors love to immortalize. The friendship of Damon and Pythias was not of a stronger type than that of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, and Heber was as jealous of the love of Brigham as a woman is of the love of her husband. Heber was a very singular, very genuine, and an extraordinarily earnest man, with a character of so much strength and rugged honesty as to make him one of the most noticeable men in the world. Though born among the humble, it was both physically and metaphysically impossible for him to make other than a strong mark in the world. His personal appearance was powerful and uncommon;

his structure as of iron; and no one could well forget the man who had seen him once. He was just such a character as one would imagine as a bosom friend of Oliver Cromwell. Heber C. Kimball, after Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, was decidedly the greatest *character* the Mormon Church has brought forth. They are indeed the Mormon trinity. He died on the 22d of June, 1868.

The universal esteem in which he was held may be inferred from the following notice of his funeral, by the *Daily Telegraph*, in its issue of the day succeeding that event:

> Yesterday the last sad offices of affection and friendship were rendered to the mortal remains of our beloved President, Heber Chase Kimball.
>
> Throughout the city, stores and business houses were closed, and ordinary business was suspended, out of respect to the memory of the deceased. Draped flags swung to the breeze on the tops of public buildings, stores and private residences. The streets were exceedingly quiet, the few people passing being apparently imbued with the solemnity of the occasion.
>
> The day also was in perfect harmony. The oppressive sultriness of the few preceding days gave way to a cooler atmosphere. Black clouds draped the skies, heaven's artillery roared, the wind moaned and swept along in fitful gusts, and as the appointed hour for the obsequies drew nigh, the rain, like tear drops from heaven, fell heavily, mingling with the tears of the mourners, and continuing almost without intervals of cessation during the ceremonies, although relieved toward evening by brief snatches of sunshine, to show the silver lining to a cloudy day, and to indicate the smiling Providence that rules and overrules all things for good.

* * * * * * *

While the masses congregated in the tabernacle, Presidents Brigham Young and Daniel H. Wells, the Twelve Apostles, the First Presidents of the Seventies, the Presidents of the High Priests' Quorum, the presiding Bishop and his councilors, the President of this Stake of Zion, the High Council, and Capt. Croxall's band, with the pallbearers and relatives, repaired to the late residence of President Kimball. Here was beheld the Chieftain of Zion, with whom the illustrious departed, for a full third of a century and more, had stood shoulder to shoulder when men's souls were tried, with more than fraternal interest personally overseeing even the minutest item of arrangement in those last solemn offices. * * *

To the "Dead March in Saul," by Croxall's band, the procession moved from the residence. down North Temple Street, turned south on West Temple Street, passed through the West Gate of Temple Block, entered the tabernacle at door No. 32, north side, and occupied the seats reserved for the purpose in front of the stand, the band still playing as the procession entered. When the band ceased, the powerful tones of the organ swelled forth in a selection from Beethoven.

The remains were deposited upon a draped bier, raised from the middle aisle, so as to be plainly observable by all the vast audience. Seven elegant vases of roses and other beautiful flowers were placed upon the coffin.

In consonance with the solemnity of the scene, the interior of the tabernacle was also draped in mourning. * * *

The vast assemblage was called to order by President Young, and the choir sang a hymn composed by Miss E. R. Snow, after which, Apostle Cannon offered up a prayer, and the choir sang "Farewell all earthly honors."

The assembly was then addressed by Elders

John Taylor, Geo. A. Smith, Geo. Q. Cannon, Presidents Daniel H. Wells and Brigham Young, who said: "Brother Kimball was a man of as much integrity, I presume, as any man who ever lived on the earth. I have been personally acquainted with him forty-three years, and I can testify that he has been a man of truth, a man of benevolence, a man that was to be trusted."

At the close of President Young's remarks, the choir sang "O my Father, thou that dwellest," after which the procession re-formed in its previous order, the band playing the Belgian dead march, and the remains of the deceased were escorted to a spot in his private burying ground, previously selected by himself, where they were laid by the side of Vilate, the partner and companion of his youth.

He was mourned by the whole Church, and principal men from all parts of the Territory honored by their presence the memory of the dead.

## GEORGE A. SMITH.

George Albert Smith was born in the town of Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, New York, on the 26th day of June, 1817. It may be claimed for him that he was of purely American descent, for his American-born ancestry date back to 1666. On the maternal side he was descended from the Lymans, a family of patriotic revolutionary record; and on the paternal side he was cousin to Joseph Smith the Prophet.

His cousin Joseph's seership was first brought to his attention in 1828, by a letter written to his grandfather by Joseph Smith, sen., in which was recounted several visions that the writer's son had received; and also in which letter was the remark: "I always knew that God was going to raise up "some branch of my family to be a great benefit to "mankind."

A subsequent letter from Joseph himself, in which he declared that the sword of the Almighty hung over that generation, and could only be averted by repentance and works of righteousness, made a profound impression on the mind of George A., and elicited from his father the declaration that "Joseph "wrote like a prophet." An investigation of the Book of Mormon resulted in the conversion of his parents, and the consequent bigoted opposition of their neighbors. One of these, an influential and wealthy man, offered young Smith,—if he would leave his parents and promise to never become a Mormon,—a seven years' education, without expense, and a choice of profession when his education should be complete. His answer was worthy an everlasting record: "The commandment of God requires "me to honor my father and mother." He did so honor them as to fully embrace their faith, and was baptized in their presence, September 10th, 1832. Concerning events immediately following, his journal states:

My father sold his farm in Potsdam, and, on the 1st of May, 1833, we started for Kirtland, Ohio, the second gathering place of the Saints, where we arrived on the 25th, having traveled 500 miles. We were heartily welcomed by cousin Joseph. This was the first time I had ever seen him; he conducted us to his father's house.

I was engaged during the Summer and Fall in quarrying and hauling rock for the Kirtland temple, attending masons, and performing other duties about its walls. The first two loads of rock taken to the temple ground were hauled from Stanard's quarry by Harvey Stanley and myself.

In consequence of the persecution which raged against Joseph, and the constant threats to do him violence, it was found necessary to keep continued guard, to prevent his being assassinated. During the Fall and Winter I took part in this service, going two miles and a half to guard.

Although but seventeen years of age, he was a member of the company that went up to "redeem Zion" in Jackson County, Mo. He started with "Zion's Camp," May 5th, 1834, and returned on the 4th of August of the same year, having traveled about 2,000 miles in three months, mostly on foot.

On the 1st of March, 1835, he was ordained a member of the first quorum of Seventies, and on the 5th day of May, following, in company with Lyman Smith, started on mission through Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. They returned in November, having traveled 1,850 miles on foot, without purse or scrip, holding numerous meetings, and making several converts.

From this time forward his life was a series of missions, and adventures incident thereto, up to April, 1839, when he was ordained one of the Twelve Apostles, on the corner-stone of the temple, at Far West.

He was a member of the quorum of the Twelve who went on mission to England in 1839-40, traveling and preaching in the counties of Lancaster, Chester, Stafford, Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester, and preaching the first Mormon sermon in London.

Soon after his return, in 1841, he was married to Miss Bethsheba W. Bigler, and after a temporary settlement in Zarahemla, Iowa, became a resident of Nauvoo. He was thereafter engaged in mission work in various States until recalled, in 1844, by the martyrdom of the Prophet.

He was with the Twelve in the exodus from Nauvoo, and with the pioneers in their journey from winter quarters to the Rocky Mountains. He planted the first potato that was put into the ground in Salt Lake Valley, and to the day of his death was permanently identified with the various projects for settling and redeeming the valleys of Deseret.

When the Provisional Government of the State of Deseret was erected, he was chosen a member of the State Senate, and at that early date presented a bill concerning the construction of a national railroad across the continent.

In speaking of his mission to Jerusalem, which, in company with Lorenzo Snow, Albert Carrington, Ferezmore Little and others, he accomplished in 1873, it will be necessary to explain that one of the most peculiar and characteristic phases of the Mormon religion is the linking of the destiny of this modern Israel, raised up by Joseph Smith, with the destiny of ancient Israel. The Jews, of course, are the proper representatives of the former, the Mormons of the latter.

As observed elsewhere, the Mormons themselves are supposed to be the literal seed of Abraham "mixed with the Gentiles," but now "in these last days" gathered by the mysterious providence of the House of Israel into the "new and everlasting covenant."

In 1840, Apostle Orson Hyde performed the first mission to Jerusalem, and thirty-two years later this second mission was appointed. Here is the commission:

SALT LAKE CITY, U. T.,
October 15, 1872.

Prest. G. A. SMITH.

DEAR BRO.:—As you are about to start on an extensive tour through Europe and Asia Minor, where you will doubtless be brought in contact with men of position and influence in society, we desire that you observe closely what openings now exist, or where they may be effected, for the introduction of the gospel into the various countries you shall visit.

When you go to the land of Palestine, we wish you to dedicate and consecrate that land to the Lord, that it may be blessed with fruitfulness preparatory to the return of the Jews in fulfillment of prophecy and the accomplishment of the purposes of our Heavenly Father.

We pray that you may be preserved to travel in peace and safety; that you may be abundantly blessed with words of wisdom and free utterance in all your conversations pertaining to the holy gospel, dispelling prejudice and sowing seeds of righteousness among the people.

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
DANIEL H. WELLS.

These missionaries from the modern to the ancient Zion, visiting the President of the United

States and President Thiers of France on their way, reached Palestine in March, 1873. They visited the most famous places of bible mention, and also the places made famous by the exploits of the crusaders. Concerning their ceremony on the Mount of Olives Eliza R. Snow wrote:

> Sunday morning, March 2d, President Smith made arrangements with our dragoman, and had a tent, table, seats, and carpet taken up on the Mount of Olives, to which all the brethren of the company and myself repaired on horseback. After dismounting on the summit, and committing our animals to the care of servants, we visited the Church of Ascension, a small cathedral, said to stand on the spot from which Jesus ascended. By this time the tent was prepared, which we entered, and after an opening prayer by Brother Carrington, we united in the order of the Holy Priesthood, President Smith leading in humble, fervent supplication, dedicating the land of Palestine for the gathering of the Jews and the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and returned heartfelt thanks and gratitude to God for the fulness of the gospel and the blessings bestowed on the Latter-day Saints. Other brethren led in turn, and we had a very interesting season; to me it seemed the crowning point of the whole tour, realizing as I did that we were worshiping on the summit of the sacred mount, once the frequent resort of the Prince of Life.

The Jerusalem missionaries returned to Utah in July, 1873.

Upon the death of Heber C. Kimball, the elevation of George A. Smith to the second place in the Mormon Church, thus made vacant, was pronounced by the people of his faith an honor worthily bestowed.

The construction of the temple at St. George furnished the occasion for this apostle to unite with Brigham Young in the administration of ordinances in "high places," thus fitly crowning the labors of his life. On his tablet might thereafter be written "It is finished."

Shortly after his return from St. George, he was prostrated with a sickness which finally resulted in his death, September 1st, 1875. Although, mortally considered, he has passed away, in the hearts of the Mormon people George A. Smith will never die.

# GENERAL WELLS.

DANIEL H. WELLS, who in the history of Utah has become famous as the lieutenant-general of the Utah militia, mayor of Salt Lake City, and Second Councilor of the Mormon Church, was born in Trenton, Oneida County, New York, October 27th, 1814.

His father, Daniel, served in the war with Great Britain, in 1812, and his mother, Catherine Chapin, was the daughter of David Chapin, a revolutionary soldier who served with General Washington.

His father died in 1826, when Daniel H. was but 12 years of age. When he was 18 the family, consisting of his mother, himself and six sisters, sold their estate in Trenton and removed to Ohio. In the Spring following (1834), he settled at Commerce, afterwards famous as Nauvoo. This was the year succeeding the Black Hawk War, and before Carthage, the county seat, was located. Ere he was 21 years of age, he was elected constable, and soon afterwards justice of the peace. He was also elected second sergeant in the first organization of the militia of the district; and so great was the confidence of all parties and sects, including the Catholics, in his integrity and impartiality, that he was often selected as arbitrator of differences between neighbors, and administrator of the estates of deceased persons. In politics he was a whig, and was an influential member of many of the political conventions of Hancock County, from its organization to the time of the expulsion of the Mormons.

In 1839 he became acquainted with the Mormons. When they fled from Missouri he was among the foremost to welcome and give succor to the refugees. That severe American spirit, for which he has ever been marked was aroused to indignation at witnessing the expulsion of free-born American citizens from a neighboring State, many of whose forefathers, like his own, had helped to found the nation, and to fight for its independence in later generations. Indeed, it would seem, from the tenor of his life, that the chain which at first bound him to the Mormons was his uncompromising Americanism and stern republican integrity, rather than a sentimental sympathy with a religious sect, or from any constitutional tendency to be carried away by a love of the marvelous, which is popularly supposed to have been the moving cause with the majority of those who embraced the new faith.

When Nauvoo was organized, and charters were granted by the Legislature of Illinois to the City, University, and Nauvoo Legion, Daniel H. Wells was elected alderman and member of the city council, one of the regents of the university, and commissary-general on the staff of the major-general, with the rank of brigadier-general. After the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, when the Governor of the State of Illinois sent Lieutenant Abernethy to demand the arms of the Legion, General Wells protested against the order, as an infringement of his constitutional right to bear arms as a member of the militia of the State. After the exodus of the main body of the Mormon Church, under the Twelve, and at the time the mob was gathering, he became a member of the Church, and, six weeks later, he took part in the famous battle of Nauvoo, —fighting for his religion, the freedom of his conscience, and the rights of American citizens. In this battle, Colonel Johnson having been taken sick, he assisted Lieutenant-Colonel Cutler in the command, acting as the latter's aid-de-camp. During the three days of the battle he was especially conspicuous on his white horse, encouraging and directing the men, and was often made a target by the enemy.

On the surrender of Nauvoo, he resolved to go to winter quarters, but was among the very last to leave the doomed city. As the mob advanced, coming down the street, only two blocks behind the expelled citizens, Colonel Cutler and himself brought up the rear of the refugees. On the other side of the river they were met by a patrol guard, who demanded their arms, which they refused to give up, it being in violation of the treaty, which provided that the arms should be restored to the Mormons as soon as they reached the Iowa side of the river. From the portico of the temple the enemy fired their cannon on the defenceless camp across the river. Gathering up the balls he sent one of them, with his compliments, to the Governor of Iowa, whose Territory had been thus invaded. He then took a one-horse buggy and rode day and night, with Colonel Cutler, to the Mormon head-quarters, to send back teams for the expelled remnant, to whose rescue he soon returned. In the second journey of the pioneers to the valleys he was aid-de-camp to General Brigham Young.

Since that day, in the history of Utah, Daniel H. Wells has figured among the most conspicuous, in its great events and important places in the Church, in the city and in the Territorial government. He was a member of the Legislative council in the Provisional State of Deseret, Superintendent of Public Works, after the death of Jedediah M. Grant, Second Councilor of the Church, and Lieut.-Gen. of the Utah militia, which he commanded in the "Utah war" in 1857-8. In 1864-5, he was President of the European Mission, and since then has been Mayor of Salt Lake City a number of terms. The reader will find the links of his history abundantly dispersed throughout the chapters of this book.

Daniel H. Wells is a thorough American. His loyal and stirring speech, stimulating the patriotism of the Mormons soon after their entrance into the Valley, which has been already given, is proof of his ardent love of his native country and its institutions; and he was very strong in his condemnation of the late war upon the Union and the national flag. His peculiar expression was that the South should have "wrapped the time-honored flag of "their country around them, and fought for their "constitutional rights as *we* did!" Daniel is the author of that view. He remembers that he is the direct descendant of the fourth Governor of Connecticut, and all through his life has aimed to be worthy of his illustrious descent.

## WILFORD WOODRUFF.

Wilford Woodruff, third son of Aphek Woodruff and Beulah Thompson–Woodruff, was born March 1st, 1807, in that part of Farmington now called Avon, Hartford County, Conn. His ancestors for several generations, were also residents of that section. Up to his twenty-first year he remained at home, assisting his father in attending to the Farmington Mills.

At a very early age his mind was considerably exercised upon religious subjects, although in a somewhat different view from that of the orthodox teachings of those days. A notable point of difference was his firm conviction that the gifts and graces that belonged to the ancient apostles ought still to obtain among the true disciples of Jesus, although the ministers of his acquaintance all taught that such things had been done away. This difference in belief caused him to hold aloof from any espousal of particular doctrine until 1833, when he, in company with his brother Azmon (being at the time in Oswego Co., N. Y.), chanced to hear two Mormon elders preach. A single sermon convinced both him and his brother, and they thereupon presented themselves for baptism.

Young Woodruff was an enthusiastic convert, and soon gravitated to Kirtland, where he was kindly received by, and temporarily domiciled with, the Prophet Joseph. Surrounded by influences so congenial to his natural cast of mind, his spiritual nature developed rapidly, and in a few months' time he had reached the point of joyfully accepting an ordination as elder, and a commission to go on mission. He had in the meantime removed to Clay Co., Mo.

He straightway, in company with an elder by the name of Brown, started out on a tour in which was traversed a most desolate and perilous section of country, viz.: southern Missouri, northern Arkansas, and western Tennessee. It is worthy of note that this journey (on foot) was made to embrace the traversing of the Mississippi Swamp, a distance of 175 miles, most of the way in mud and water up to their knees. Young Woodruff being stricken with rheumatism in the midst of the swamp, his companion abandoned him. But, kneeling in the water, he cried to God for succor, and was immediately healed. He thereupon continued his journey, and in due time returned to his brethren.

His life thereafter was made up almost entirely of mission work. In Jan., 1837, he was set apart to be a member of the first quorum of Seventies, and remained for a while in Kirtland. Here, on the 13th of April of that year, he was married to Miss Phœbe W. Carter, at the house of Joseph Smith.

Shortly thereafter he went on mission again, and continued in that work until appointed a member of the quorum of the Twelve. In the following Fall, 1839, he started on the mission to England. (See record elsewhere.) His ministry in that country was very successful. During the seven months of their labors in Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, he and his confreres of that mission baptized over eighteen hundred persons, including over two hundred preachers of various denominations; their success so greatly alarming the orthodox ministers of those localities, that it was made the subject of a petition to Parliament.

Returning in 1841, he was shipwrecked on Lake Michigan, but escaped with his life, and reached Nauvoo in October of that year.

It is not the design of this sketch to give more than a general view of this faithful apostle; suffice it to say, therefore, that he was on mission in the Eastern States at the time of Joseph and Hyrum's martyrdom; that he thereupon returned and prominently participated in the events succeeding that monstrous wrong; that he was a member of the famous mission to England in 1844, remaining there a year, and returning to join the exodus; that he was one of the 143 pioneers; that he again went on mission to the Eastern States in 1848, returning to Salt Lake in 1850; and in December of that year was elected a member of the Senate of the Provisional State of Deseret.

Since that time Apostle Woodruff has been one of the very foremost in all the affairs at home. The church history is mostly compiled from his journals, and the success of his mission to England is to this day a marvel in the Church. He is emphatically one of the founders of Utah, and as an apostle well deserves the name of "Wilford the Faithful."

## LORENZO SNOW.

LORENZO SNOW, who has attained to considerable distinction in the Mormon Church as an elder, and to marked prominence as a successful utilizer of the wise suggestions of President Young, in matters pertaining to the local interests of the Saints in Utah, was born April 3d, 1814, in Mantua, Portage County, Ohio. His father and mother were New England born, being descended from the genuine Puritan stock.

In childhood Lorenzo exhibited a decision of character which has been conspicuously apparent in subsequent life. After improving the best advantages afforded in common schools, he went to "Oberlin College" to complete his education.

Two of his sisters being residents of Kirtland, Ohio, where the Latter-day Saints were then located, on leaving college he went there on a visit, but without the most distant thought of ever uniting his interests with that people. However, on acquaintance, he became convinced of the truth of the doctrines they professed, was baptized, and soon ordained an elder, and sent forth "without purse or scrip," to preach the gospel, like the disciples of old.

Like a veteran soldier constantly at his post, from that time to this, Lozenzo Snow has been an active missionary in the cause he espoused,—either at home or abroad, wherever his labors were required,—having performed several missions in this as well as in foreign countries.

In 1837, with his father's family, he moved to Daviess County, Missouri, and the next Spring, when he was filling a mission in the South, his people were driven from Missouri into Illinois, where he joined them, and, after performing a mission to the Eastern States in 1840, he was sent on his first mission to Europe. In England he succeeded his predecessors in the presidency of the London conference, and after the Twelve had left England, he acted as councilor to Parley P. Pratt, who presided over the European mission.

A pamphlet entitled "The only Way to be Saved," which Elder Snow published while on this mission, has been translated into every language, where the fullness of the gospel has been preached under the Mormon dispensation.

At the close of this mission of nearly three years, he took charge of a large company of Saints, with whom he safely landed in Nauvoo, *via* New Orleans and the Mississippi river.

Inasmuch as some of its bitter opposers have strenuously asserted that the introduction of the practice of plural marriage was subsequent to the death of the great founder of Mormonism, we will here transcribe from Lorenzo Snow's Journal an entry which should settle that controversy:

Soon after my arrival in the city of Nauvoo, a private interview was accorded me by President Joseph Smith, in which he explained the doctrine of plural or celestial marriage—said it was made known to him by revelation from God, by whom he had been commanded to introduce the sacred order by taking more wives. At the same time he informed me that my sister, Eliza R. Snow, had been sealed to him in this relationship by the authority of that priesthood which is recognized in the heavens.

In the winter of 1845–6 he, with his family, crossed the Mississippi, and joined the mass of pilgrims from their beautiful city, in that strange and eventful exodus of the nineteenth century, "From the Land "of the Free and the home of the brave" (!); stayed in Pisgah until the Spring of 1847, when, taking charge of a train of one hundred wagons, he arrived in Salt Lake valley in the autumn following. The next winter he was ordained into the quorum of the Twelve, and in the ensuing autumn called to go to Italy to introduce and establish the gospel in that land; his mission also extended to other nations and countries wherever opportunity should present.

After an absence of nearly three years he returned home *via* Malta, Gibraltar, Liverpool and New York, and in the following autumn was elected a member of the Utah Legislature.

The next mission of importance was to locate fifty families in Box Elder County, sixty miles north of Salt Lake City, where a small settlement had been formed, which, for want of the right master-spirit, had lost every vestige of enterprise, and was minus all aim in the direction of advancement. To diffuse active energies into this stereotyped condition of things, was not unlike raising the dead, and a man of less strength of purpose would have faltered. Not so the one in question. He went to work, laid out a city, naming it "Brigham," in honor of the President of the Church, moved his family to the new city, and thus laid the foundation for the great financial co-operative enterprise that he has there built up.

When the county was organized, by the authority of the Legislature he took the presidency, as a Stake of Zion, which position he still holds. He was elected member of the Legislative Council to represent the district composed of the counties of Box Elder and Weber, and yet serves in that capacity.

A few years ago, with Elders E. T. Benson and J. F. Smith, he visited the Sandwich Islands on important matters relative to the interests of the Saints on those islands.

But the great work designed to bring into exercise the gigantic powers, and exhibit this entirely devoted man in the higher plane of practical engineering as an organizer, statesman and financier, was yet to come.

Prompt to the suggestions of Pres't Young, in an order designed to firmly cement the bonds of union among the Saints, thereby laying a foundation for mutual self-support and independence, through a combination of temporal as well as spiritual interests, on a general co-operative basis, Hercules like, Lorenzo put his shoulder to the wheel, and, although he saw at a glance the magnitude of the undertaking—that it required almost superhuman skill, and the labor of years, his duty was the watchword, and success the ultimatum. Present results show that no difficulties were too great for him to encounter.

His first step in the co-operative movement was in the mercantile line. In 1863-4 he commenced by establishing a co-operative store, with stock in shares of $5.00, thus making it possible for people of very moderate circumstances to become shareholders.

Many difficulties occurred in the start, and the progress was slow, but it steadily gained in the confidence of the people, the stockholders realizing from twenty to twenty-five per cent. per annum, in merchandise, and in five years it was an acknowledged success. Then, aided by the profits from the mercantile department, an extensive tannery was erected at a cost of ten thousand dollars; the people having the privilege of putting in labor as capital; and soon after these departments were in successful operation, a woolen factory, at a cost of nearly forty thousand dollars, was brought into working order, again taking labor as stock.

A co-operative sheep-herd, for supplying the factory, was soon added—then co-operative farms, and to these a cheese dairy. Thus one department of industry after another has been established, until now between thirty and forty departments are combined—all working harmoniously like the wheels of a grand piece of machinery.

Their last year's report stated that there were about five hundred stockholders, with a capital of one hundred and forty thousand dollars.

In 1872 he accompanied Pres't Geo. A. Smith on a tour through Europe, Egypt, Greece and Palestine. While in Vienna, on his return, he received information of his appointment as Assistant Councilor to Pres't Young.

As a missionary he has traveled over one hundred and fifty thousand miles. Probably none of his compeers have been longer in the field, or traveled more, in preaching the gospel among the nations of the earth.

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## HON. W. H. HOOPER.

William Henry Hooper is the son of Henry Hooper and Mary Noel Price. He was born at the old homestead known as Warwick Manor, Dorchester County, Eastern Shore, Maryland, December 25th, 1813.

His father, who died when Mr. Hooper was three years of age, was of English descent, while his mother, as her name would indicate, was of Scotch extraction.

Becoming a clerk in a store at the age of 14, his mercantile experience may be said to have begun at that time, and his subsequent life has been substantially a pursuit of the calling indicated by that event.

From that humble beginning he gradually rose to the attainment of considerable prominence as a merchant, and, in the year 1836, we find him a member of the firm of "Hooper, Peck & Scales," of

Galena, Illinois, afterwards well known upon the frontiers as merchants, miners and smelters, as well as being considerably concerned in steamboat interests. It was during this year that he married his first wife, Miss Electa Jane Harris, by whom he had two daughters, both of whom are now dead, as is also their mother, who died in 1844.

The affairs of this firm becoming involved in the crash of '38, the business was duly closed up, and Mr. Hooper, for a time, became interested in steamboating upon the Mississippi, and also in steamboat building. His ventures in this line, however, in consequence of certain accidents and disasters, did not prove remunerative, and in the Spring of 1850 he emigrated to Salt Lake City, under an engagement with Holliday & Warner, merchants. This event, small as it may appear, changed the whole phase of his future life. Although thinking to soon again embark in another steamboat venture, his health was so much improved by his stay in Salt Lake that he abandoned the idea, and remained with Holliday & Warner.

In December, '52, he married Miss Mary Ann Knowlton, his present wife, by whom he has had nine children, seven of whom are now living. In 1853, and while in company with Holliday & Warner, he went to California with a large adventure of cattle, horses, flour, &c. The latter he disposed of to a large company of emigrants on the road. While in California he sold his interest in the concern to Holliday & Warner, and, in company with four other men, returned to Salt Lake, with pack animals, in the Fall, reaching the city in the month of December. This journey was attended with great danger, the country being infested with hostile Indians from where Virginia City, Nevada, now stand, to the settlements of Utah, a distance of 700 miles.

In '54 he embarked in mercantile pursuits, and in '55 was elected a member of the State convention to frame a constitution for the State of Deseret. In '56, he was appointed by Gov. Brigham Young secretary *pro tem* of the Territory, to fill the place made vacant by the death of Almon W. Babbitt. This position he held until '58.

As we have seen, coming to Utah changed the course of Mr. Hooper's life, and turned the fates in his favor; for in 1859 he was elected delegate from Utah to the 36th Congress of the United States. His record in Congress has been given elsewhere. Undoubtedly his extensive acquaintance and association with public men from early life had much to do in protecting and preserving the interests of the people, whom, as their representative, he so long and faithfully served.

Since his return to private life, Mr. Hooper has been engaged in the successful pursuit of mercantile enterprises.

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## HON. GEORGE Q. CANNON.

George Q. Cannon was born in Liverpool, England, on the 11th of January, 1827. His parents joined the Mormons when he was 12 years of age. Previously, however, his father's sister left England, for Canada, as a companion to the wife of the Secretary of the colony, but with the intention of returning. While in Canada, however, she met Elder John Taylor, then a Methodist minister, whose wife she afterwards became.

At this time Elder Parley P. Pratt was on mission to Canada, preaching the doctrines of Mormonism, to which Mr. Taylor and wife were soon converted. Mr. Taylor having been chosen one of the Twelve Apostles of the Mormon Church, visited England in 1839, as a Mormon missionary, where he first made the acquaintance of his brother-in law, Mr. Cannon's father, whom, with his wife and family he succeeded in baptizing into the Mormon church. Mr. Cannon states that "As soon as my " mother saw Mr. Taylor, and before she knew he " was a religious man, she said, 'he is a man of " 'God.'"

The headquarters of the Mormon Church was then at Nauvoo, to which place the new converts were very desirous to emigrate, but active operations in that direction were for some time delayed on account of Mrs. Cannon having strong premonitions that she would not reach "Zion." These were supported by certain analogous dreams by Mr Cannon, all of which were literally fulfilled in the death of Mrs. Cannon while crossing the Atlantic ocean. The rest of the family reached Nauvoo in safety.

Two months after the massacre of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Mr. Cannon's father left Nauvoo on a business tour to St. Louis, and, while there, died, leaving seven orphan children.

After reaching Nauvoo, George Q., then but a lad, went to work in the office of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, and *Times and Seasons*, where he learned the printing business.

In 1847 young Cannon crossed the plains with the emigrants, and, during the winter following, and up to the Fall of 1849, he was engaged in house building, farming operations, canyon work, adobe making, and other labor incident to the settlement of a new country.

In the Fall of '49 he accompanied Apostle Charles C. Rich to California, where he worked in the gold mines until the Summer of 1850, when he, with five others, was called to go on a mission to the Sandwich Islands. They sailed from San Francisco, and after a three weeks' voyage, landed at Honolulu, on the 12th of December of that year. Mr. Cannon acquired the Hawaiian language very rapidly, and, after being there six weeks, he started out to travel among, and preach to, the natives. In a few months he succeded in organizing branches of the Church in various places.

While there he translated the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian language, and with the other missionaries made arrangements for the purchase of a press and printing materials necessary for its publication.

He returned to Salt Lake Valley in the winter of '54. In 1855 he went on mission to California and established a printing office and a newspaper, the *Western Standard*, of which he was editor.

The news of what is known as the "Utah war" reached California in '57, and Mr. Cannon soon after returned to Salt Lake to take part in the defence.

In April, 1858, the abandonment of Salt Lake commenced, and Mr. Cannon was appointed to take the press and printing materials belonging to the *Deseret News* to Fillmore City, where he published that paper from April to September of that year.

He was then sent on mission to the Eastern States, which duty he performed until he received an official notification that he had been elected on the 23d of October, '59, as one of the Twelve Apostles, to act in the place made vacant by the death of Parley P. Pratt. In the Fall of 1860 he returned to Salt Lake City, where he remained six weeks, during which time he was called to fill a mission to England. He was appointed to take charge of the emigration in Europe, and of the *Millennial Star* office; and to act as president of the European Mission.

In May, '62, he received a despatch to the effect that he had been elected United States Senator by the Legislature of the inchoate State of Deseret, and was requested to join Mr. Hooper in Washington early in June, which he did.

Both Senators-elect labored diligently in Washington to get Utah admitted into the Union as a State during the remainder of that session of Congress.

Upon the adjournment of Congress Mr. Cannon returned to England where he labored with marked success until August, '64, when he returned home, having, while in England, shipped upwards of 13,000 souls, as Latter-day Saints, for Utah.

For three years after his return to Salt Lake he acted as private secretary to President Brigham Young, having been elected in the mean time a member of the legislative council. In the Fall of '67 he took charge of the *Deseret News*,—then published semi-weekly,—as its editor and publisher. He immediately commenced the publication of the *Deseret Evening News* (daily), and his connection with that paper continued until the Fall of 1872, when he was elected Delegate to Congress, which position he still fills, to the credit of himself and the satisfaction of his constituency.

## BISHOP HUNTER.

EDWARD HUNTER, Presiding Bishop of the Mormon Church, was born in Newtown, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, June 22d, 1793. He was the son of Edward and Hannah Hunter, of the same county and State. His great grandfather, John Hunter, was from the north of England, and served under William of Orange, as a lieutenant in the cavalry, at the battle of the Boyne.

Edward Hunter, sen., the father of the Bishop, was a man of standing in the State of Pennsylvania, holding the office of Justice of the Peace in Delaware County for forty years.

On the mother's side was Robert Owen, of North Wales, who, on the restoration of Charles II., refused to take the oath of allegiance, for which he was imprisoned. He subsequently came to America and purchased property near Philadelphia. His son George was early in life called to the public service, being elected to the Legislature of his native State, and during his lifetime holding many posts of trust, among which was that of Sheriff of Chester and Delaware Counties. The Owens family were Quakers, and from them the Mormon Bishop has inherited many of his religious and character traits.

He was brought up as a regular farmer and given a thorough farmer's education. His father was in the habit of causing him to read, as a constant lesson in his education, the declaration of independence, which so impressed his imagination that in his ardent enthusiasm he would affirm to his father that it was surely written by the inspiration of God, and his father would reply, with something of prophetic solemnity, "Edward, it is too good for a "wicked world." Among his father's constant instructions to him were the admonitions that he should sustain the principle of worshiping God according to the dictates of conscience; that men should rise in life by merit only; that he must never fail in business to the putting of himself within the power of wicked men; and, as a comprehensive rule in life, to "be invited up but never ordered down;" all of which he has aimed to regard most religiously.

Edward Hunter, sen., was, for many years, a justice of the peace, and in his native State was known as a man of marked character and integrity; and on his death his son, though only twenty-two years of age, was proffered his father's office, but would not accept it on account of his youth. He was also offered the certain election as representative in the Legislature of Pennsylvania on the popular side—the old Federals—but refused, he being a Democrat, which political preference he has faithfully maintained ever since.

When about thirty years of age he removed to Chester County, where he purchased over five hundred acres of farming land, about thirty miles from Philadelphia, which he brought under the highest cultivation, and became noted as one of the best graziers in that country. Here, in 1839, he was visited by three Mormon elders, but though they made their home at his house, he did not come into the Mormon Church until the succeeding year. Both himself and his father before him had maintained a conscientious independence of the sectarian churches. Going, however, one evening, a distance from the neighborhood to a place called Locust Grove, to affirm in behalf of a certain Mormon elder the sacred right of liberty of conscience, he made a decided stand in defence of the new faith. The trustee of the school having first challenged the elder for his views on the gospel, and then assaying to crowd him from the stand by his local influence, the honest farmer indignantly arose and maintained the elder's right to preach the gospel uninterrupted. As it was known that Hunter employed a good lawyer, and had the best character and the most money of any man in the country around, he carried the day for the Mormon preacher. At night, however, sleep was interrupted by the question uppermost in his mind, "Are these men "the servants of God?" Addressing the question to heaven, immediately a light appeared in his room, from the overpowering glory of which he hid his face. This was his first testimony to the Mormon work.

Soon after this the Mormon prophet,—having visited Washington to invoke President Van Buren's protection of the Mormons who had just been driven out of Missouri,—returned by way of Pennsylvania, and stopped at Mr. Hunter's house. While there his host, who had been for many years interested in Swedenborgianism, asked the Prophet if he was acquainted with that doctrine, and what was his opinion of its founder, to which he replied: "I verily believe Emanuel Swedenborg had a view "of the world to come, but for daily food he "perished." This visit was in 1839, but Mr. Hunter was not baptized into the Mormon Church until October of the following year, when the ordinance was administered to him by Apostle Orson Hyde, who was then on his way to Jerusalem.

The summer after his baptism he "gathered" to Nauvoo, and purchased a farm of the Prophet. His wealth did much to endow the Church, for he donated thousands to the "Trustee-in-Trust," and for the assistance of the poor. He assisted the Church to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars during the first year, until Joseph told him, in the "name "of the Lord," he had done enough.

Bishop Hunter was with his people in their exodus from Nauvoo, and entered the Valley with the first companies after the pioneers. Soon afterwards, on the death of Newel K. Whitney, he became the presiding bishop of the Church.

Great hearted and childlike, he is beloved by all, and his odd, rich sayings are as household words among his people.

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## BISHOP SHARP.

JOHN SHARP, the "Railroad Bishop," is not only a Scotchman by birth, but is of unmixed Scotch descent. He was born in the Devon Ironworks, Scotland, November 9th, 1820, and was sent into a coalpit to work when but eight years of age.

In 1847 Mormonism found him in Clackmannanshire, still engaged as a coal miner. The Mormon gospel was brought to this quarter by William Gibson, one of the first Scotch elders sent out,—a man who obtained notoriety in the British mission as an orator and an able disputant. This elder converted the Sharp brothers (there were three of them) to the faith, and in 1848 they left Scotland for America. They landed in New Orleans, came up the Mississippi to St. Louis, where they lived until the Spring of 1850, and then took up their line of march for Salt Lake City.

The date of his arrival, August 28th, 1850, makes John Sharp one of the earlier settlers of Utah, and the sphere that he has filled so many years, properly classes him among the "founders." He first went to work in the church quarry, getting out stone for the "Old Tabernacle" and Tithing Office, and next was made the superintendent of the quarry. Under his direction the stone for the public works, the foundation of the temple, and the massive wall around the temple block, was got out; and it must be understood that in those days the quarrying and hauling of those huge blocks of granite was no indifferent undertaking. The church quarry is 18 miles from the city, and the rock, of course, had to be hauled by oxen, and the men employed directly or indirectly on tithing account. The numerous difficulties which the superintendents of the Church works have had to grapple with, in raising teams upon the tithing offerings, the employment of regular hands, and the finding of means generally to carry on the public works, are not easily imagined, unless one can fancy what the national income would mean if paid in flour, molasses, potatoes, squashes, and the like, and distributed afterwards for the national service.

In 1854 he was ordained by President Young as the Bishop of the Twentieth Ward. It had been at its organization coupled with the Eighteenth Ward, under Bishop Lorenzo Young; but substantially Bishop Sharp is the founder of the Twentieth Ward. It grew up under him, and soon became known as one of the most liberal and intellectual wards in the city.

In 1864 Bishop Sharp was appointed Assistant Superintendent of the Public Works, and when President Daniel H. Wells went to England to take charge of the European mission, he was the Acting Superintendent until his return. In '68 he became a sub-contractor under Brigham Young on the Union Pacific Railroad. Under this contract Sharp & Young did the heavy stone work of the bridge abutments, and the cutting of the tunnels of Weber

Canyon. In this work they employed from five to six hundred men, and the contract amounted to about a million of dollars. Afterwards, during the strife between the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific, the Bishop took another contract for Sharp & Young, on the Union Pacific, on which he employed four or five hundred men, the contract amounting to $100,000. In the difficulties of the settlement between President Young and the U. P. Co., John Sharp, John Taylor and Joseph A. Young were chosen to go to Boston to bring the business to an issue. So vigorously, yet prudently, did they press the matter with Durant and others that, in the lack of the company's funds, Brigham got 600,000 dollars' worth of railroad material, iron and rolling stock, which was used in the construction of the Utah Central. After the building of that line, Joseph A. Young was made its superintendent, and he was followed by Ferezmore Little, but Sharp succeeded them in 1871, and in 1873 was also appointed its president as well as superintendent. In the organization of the Utah Southern in 1870, he was elected Vice-President. He went east as the purchasing agent for this company, and becoming extensively associated with the Union Pacific directors, was finally elected one of them. He is a man of pronounced character, and of much capacity, particularly of the practical quality. This has been shown in his career. He has a very common-sense type of mind,—is, in fact, a "man of the world," notwithstanding he is a bishop.

Coming from a coalpit in Scotland, and rising to his position as a bishop in the Church, a president and superintendent of railroads, and one of the directors of the Union Pacific, John Sharp may well be pronounced a "self-made man."

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## BISHOP BUDGE.

William Budge, one of the presiding bishops over the Stakes of Zion, is a Scotchman by birth. Bishop Sharp, David V. Calder, Judge Pyper, and Bishop Budge may be taken as fair representatives, in the Mormon Church, of the Scotch nationality.

Bishop Sharp we have styled the Railroad Bishop; William Budge, on the other hand, is a missionary man, having been one of the founders of foreign missions.

He was born in Lanark, Lanarkshire, Scotland, May 1st, 1828. Like nearly all of the Mormon elders, he is from the working class; therefore a self-made man.

In 1848, when at the age of twenty, he embraced Mormonism, and at twenty-one became a local preacher. In the Spring of 1851 he was sent as a missionary to the North of England to build up new branches of the Church. In the Fall of the same year he was sent to the West of Scotland, but shortly afterwards to the West of England, where he labored two years, baptizing in and around Southampton quite a number of converts. From Southampton he was sent to Norwich, and then to the classical city of Cambridge, to leave tracts with, and expound the scriptures to, the students of the University.

From Cambridge Elder Budge was commissioned to go to Switzerland at the beginning of the year 1854. Although understanding simply the rudiments of the German language before he left England, in less than three months he was preaching in German.

But on nearly every part of the continent of Europe, excepting Scandinavia, the elders found it almost impossible to make inroads. They were often imprisoned, at the instigation of priests, for "preaching the gospel,"—and so in Switzerland, within three months, Elder Budge was subjected to examination and imprisonment thirteen times. He was ultimately banished from the country; but he wrote to the British minister at Bern, claiming the protection of a British subject, he having a passport signed by Lord Clarendon, then Home Secretary. Proceedings against him were stopped, and the minister sent for his passport and further explanation of the case. The elder explained as the probable cause that he was a Mormon missionary. The minister replied with quite a sermon on "that "abominable sect," and advised the elder, though reluctantly, to leave the country, the British conscience being pricked in not standing by Her Majesty's subject.

The elder left Zurich, and returned to England, where he labored a while, traveling through the conferences of Bedfordshire, Cambridge and Norwich, and then was sent to Dresden, Saxony, in September, 1855. Here everything had to be done with the strictest secrecy, the law expressly forbidding the propagation of any faith excepting Catholic, Jewish, and a certain established Protestantism. But notwithstanding the strict espionage and passport system, Elder Budge was enabled to build up a large branch of his Church, among the members of which were Carl G. Masser and Edward Schonfield, both employed as teachers in government schools. Professor Masser has since been one of the founders of education in Utah, and is now the Principal of the Provo University, an institution lately endowed by President Young.

Towards the close of 1855, Elder Budge returned to England, and labored in the great London conference, of which he soon became president. This position he held for about two years, when he was elevated to the rank of second councilor of the presidency of the European mission, in the Spring of 1858, when all the American elders were called home in consequence of the Utah war. He was also made pastor of the Birmingham pastorate, which was second only to that of London, incorporating four conferences.

In the summer of 1860 Elder Budge emigrated, arriving in Salt Lake City, October 5th, and settled in Farmington. In the Fall of 1863 he was ordained a bishop, under the hands of President Young, and sent to Providence, Cache Valley, and in the Summer of 1870 he was sent by the President to Paris, the capital of Bear Lake Co., Idaho, to preside as a bishop over that "Stake of Zion,"—consisting of sixteen settlements.

This presiding bishop has never in his life been before a council of the Church, either as the accused or the accuser, which at once shows his rectitude and Christian tolerance. He has been an energetic laborer for his Church, both in Europe and in "Zion," and is decidedly a civilizing man. Now that the first work of settling is done, Utah needs bishops over all her wards, settlements, and stakes, of the class of William Budge.

## JUDGE SMITH.

Elias Smith, the chief and best representative of Mormon jurisprudence in the history of Utah to the present date, is first cousin of the Prophet and founder of the Mormon Church. His father, Asahel, was the brother of Joseph Smith, "First Patriarch" of the Church, the father of the "Prophet Joseph."

Judge Smith was born September 6th, 1804, in Royalton, Windsor County, Vermont, near Sharon, where his cousin, the Prophet, was born. In 1809 his father emigrated to the town of Stockholm, St. Lawrence County, New York. There Elias was raised in the wilderness, with but few opportunities for schooling. Most of his knowledge was acquired by observation and "study without a master."

The announcement of the mission of the Prophet and the rapid growth and strange career of the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," very naturally drew into the faith several of the best branches of the Smith family. The famous apostle, George A. Smith, who was decidedly one of the very greatest men of the Mormon dispensation, was a missionary of the Church at the age of 16, but his elder cousin Elias was 31 years of age when he embraced the faith. His mind was well-matured, for he had been already ten years in public life.

Having embraced "Mormonism," he removed from New York State, in 1836, to Kirtland, Ohio, where the Mormons were then gathering; thence he removed to Missouri, in 1838, settling in Caldwell County, and was among the disciples expelled from that State. Illinois becoming, after this, the gathering place of the Saints, he fled with them there, but finally settled, for several years, in Lee County, Iowa; then he returned to Nauvoo, which by this time had become famous as the second Zion of the Mormon people.

At Nauvoo he was associated with the press as business manager of the *Times and Seasons* and the *Nauvoo Neighbor.* After the martyrdom of his cousins Joseph and Hyrum, he followed the leadership of Brigham Young, as did also the Apostle George A. Smith, with his father John, who was now the Chief Patriarch of the Church. Thus, notwithstanding that Emma, first wife of the Prophet, with her sons and "Mother Lucy" Smith, remained at Nauvoo with the relics of their martyred dead, the surviving leaders of the Smith family were with the Saints in their exodus, and are among the founders of Utah. The sons of Hyrum Smith also came with the people to build up with them the religious fabric which the blood of their father and uncle had sanctified.

With his family he took up the pioneer journey from Nauvoo in May, 1846, intending to go with the body of the Church to the Rocky Mountains that year, but the call of the Mormon battalion soon afterwards hindering this, he sojourned awhile in Iowaville, Van Buren Co., Iowa. In 1851 he emigrated to Utah, and soon after was elected, by the Legislature, Probate Judge of Salt Lake County, in which office he has been continued up to the present time. His terms of office have ranged from four years to one, and he now holds office by election from the people. In 1852 he was also appointed one of a Code Commission of three, with Albert Carrington and William Snow, he being chairman. Their duty was to present to that legislature of pioneers, unskilled in legal science, those laws best adapted to the peculiar condition and character of the people; and whatever may be the criticism of the lawyers of to-day upon their work, undoubtedly these men acted with strict fidelity, and with the most conscientious intentions.

Judge Smith has eminently filled the most important judicial sphere in Utah, the Probate Courts being, until the McKean period, practically the Courts of Justice for the people. Indeed, he is known in all the acts of his life, and in his essential character and quality of mind, to be conscientious in the highest degree. It is not in his nature to administer unrighteously; and in the peculiar case of Utah, with Gentile and Mormon in chronic conflict, that quality of mind and judgment has had ample opportunity to manifest itself. In this quality of justice his peer was Daniel Spencer, who occupied an office in the Church analogous to that of

Chief Justice of the State, and to whose Ecclesiastical Court,—the High Council,—Gentiles have in the early days repeatedly taken their cases for arbitration in preference to "going to law" either in the Federal or Probate Courts. Elias Smith and Daniel Spencer may therefore be offered to the Gentile reader as the proper types of the judges of Mormon Israel.

Besides his judicial sphere, Judge Smith has filled other important callings. He was business manager of the *Deseret News*, under Dr. Richards, in the early rise of journalism and literature in the West, and was Postmaster of Salt Lake City from July, 1854, until the army came in 1858. In 1859 he became editor of the *Deseret News*, retaining the position until September, 1863, when he was succeeded by Albert Carrington; since which time he has exclusively confined himself to his judicial duties. In '62 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention, and one of the committee who drafted the Constitution for the State. His general history is the history of his people. While in his private capacity he is universally respected, in his public sphere he may also be said to be without an enemy, notwithstanding he has so long administered law and equity.

## MAYOR LITTLE.

**Ferezmore Little** was born in Cayuga County, New York, June 14th, 1820. His father, James Little, died a few years thereafter, and his mother, whose maiden name was Susan Young (a sister of President Brigham Young), died in Salt Lake City, May 5th, 1852.

After the death of his father, his mother, with the balance of the family, moved west, leaving him in the care of a family with whom he was living at the time of their departure. He remained in the State of New York until in his 22d year, when he also moved west, arriving in Illinois in the Summer of 1842.

In 1843 he went to St. Louis, where he remained until the Spring of 1859, in which year he emigrated to Salt Lake City.

In the year 1846 he went from St. Louis to Nauvoo, where he was married to Miss Fanny M. Decker, youngest daughter of Isaac Decker, and on his return to St. Louis with his wife, three days afterwards, he crossed the Mississippi River on the same boat with Brigham Young, when he made his final exit from Nauvoo.

He moved to Salt Lake in 1850, but did not join the Mormon Church until 1853.

His first business ventures in Utah were in connection with the U. S. mail service, across the plains, which he had more or less to do with for several years.

In 1854-5 he superintended the construction of the Big Cottonwood Canyon Wagon Road, and the erection of five saw mills on the canyon stream, and during the same period he also built the Territorial Penitentiary.

In 1858 he superintended the building of the first passable wagon road in Provo Canyon. In

1863 he went to Florence as emigration agent for the Church, where he spent the whole Summer superintending the outfitting of 500 wagons and 4,000 Latter-day Saint emigrants for Utah. In February, 1864, in connection with President Brigham Young, he purchased the Salt Lake City House, himself becoming its proprietor for the succeeding seven years.

In 1868-9 he was engaged in railroad work on the Union Pacific, and afterward became prominently identified with the Utah Central and Utah Southern.

In addition to his extensive connections, he is also a stockholder in, and a director of, the Deseret Bank, and at the last election in Salt Lake City was elected Mayor.

Thus, in the past quarter of a century he has, by industry and close application, worked himself from comparative obscurity into a position of prominence, trust and honor.

## WILLIAM JENNINGS.

Decidedly one of the most marked of the commercial men of Utah is WILLIAM JENNINGS. He was the son of Israel Jennings and Jane Thornton, and was born at Yardley, near Birmingham, Worcestershire, England, September 13, 1823.

In that city his father was known as one of the wealthiest of its butchers, who was some years ago one of the claimants in the famous Jennings chancery suit for the immense sum of several millions of pounds sterling; but without other results than proving himself a lawful claimant to the estate, and a branch of that aristocratic family.

In the year 1847 Mr. Jennings emigrated to America, landing in New York early in October; after looking around a few weeks he engaged for the Winter with a Mr. Taylor, from Manchester, England, a pork packer, at a wage of six dollars per week.

The next year he crossed the Alleghany Mountains, by way of Cumberland and Wheeling, to Cincinnati, thence to Chillicothe, Ohio. During that year he was robbed of between four and five hundred dollars, leaving him absolutely destitute. Being in this reduced condition, he next engaged as a journeyman butcher at a small salary.

Leaving Ohio in March, '49, he went to St. Louis, but finding that place unsuited to his purposes, he left in April for St. Joseph, where he engaged to work for one Gawey, to trim bacon; but afterwards went at butchering again. In the Fall of the same year he was seized with cholera, which prostrated him four weeks, at the expiration of which time he found himself penniless, and two hundred dollars in debt.

Although broken down by sickness, and robbed of his money, his grit, backed by strong commercial ambitions, was unconquerable, and he soon brought to his assistance a benevolent Roman Catholic priest, whose name was "Lealan," and from him obtained the loan of $50, with which he set to work, relieved himself of his liabilities, and laid the foundation upon which he has since amassed an immense fortune.

In the year '49, and while in St. Joseph, he married Miss Jane Walker, a Mormon emigrant girl. The following Spring they crossed the plains en route to Utah, arriving in Salt Lake City in the Fall. Shortly after his arrival he joined the Mormon Church, subsequently becoming a polygamist, and marrying his second wife, with whom he is still living,—his first wife having died May 10, 1871, after bearing him eleven children. His present wife has borne him thirteen children,—making twenty-four children by his two wives.

In the Spring of '55 he added to his butcher business, which he had established on his arrival in Salt Lake,—a tannery. This business was as grand a success for the country as it was remunerative to himself.

In '56 he was called on a mission to Carson Valley, where he remained sixteen months; but ever anxious to be self-sustaining and independent in the world, he started butchery in connection with his mission, supplying the mining camps in that region with meat. He also cut logs from the surrounding mountains, with which he built a substantial house. In the Summer of '57 he returned to Salt Lake, where he found the people much excited over the Buchanan expedition, but in spite of the fact that Johnston's army was marching on Utah, for the avowed purpose of "wiping out" the "Mormons," he set to work and built a large butcher's shop, at a cost of $1,000, on the site where the eagle emporium now stands.

In the Spring of '58 he joined in the general exodus of the Saints, and took his family and household effects to Provo; but continued his business in Salt Lake City.

After the return of the Saints to their homes, he purchased, in 1860, some $40,000 worth of dry goods of Mr. Solomon Young, and started in the mercantile business.

The following year he was engaged in supplying telegraph poles for the line between Salt Lake and Ruby Valley. The same year he went to San Francisco to purchase merchandise, traveling to Sacramento, a distance of 800 miles, by stage.

In the year 1863, in conjunction with his merchandising, he carried on a banking and broker's business. In fact, he was the first of Salt Lake's merchants to buy and ship Montana gold dust. He was also owner of the first steam planing mill in Utah.

In '64 he built the Eagle Emporium, a large and substantial stone building, in which he did a business amounting to $2,000,000 per annum, —thus making himself the leading merchant of the western country.

During the same year he assisted in organizing the Utah Central R. R. Company, himself becoming its Vice-President, and remaining as such at the present time. He also took part in organizing the Utah Southern R. R., and succeeded President Brigham Young as its President, and is still holding that position. At a later period he became one of the founders and directors of the Deseret National Bank.

He was elected a member of the Territorial Legislature under Governor Doty's administration, who also gave him his commission as lieut.-colonel of the Nauvoo Legion of the militia of Utah.

Mr. Jennings, being a strong believer in the principle of self-insurance, adopted this method of protecting himself against losses at an early period after his business transactions in Utah warranted such protection, using cattle as a basis. The amount he would have had to pay insurance companies as a premium he invested annually in cattle, until at the present time he is, through these means alone, the owner of 1,200 head; the income derived therefrom nets him $10,000 per annum; this he invested in railroad stock until his insurance fund now amounts to the enormous sum of $100,000. He is an owner in Utah railroads to the amount of about $400,000, and is a *bona fide* millionaire.

William Jennings' commercial career has been marked with as many salient points as that of the Walkers, and he has been quite as prominent a figure in history. On the Church side, he has occupied a corresponding position to that of the Walker Brothers on the Gentile side. In their relations to Utah, among its founders, they are equally from the Mormon people; but, while the latter threw all their weight into a commercial warfare against the Church and its co-operative movement, the former directed all his moneyed potency and enterprise toward its commercial supremacy.

Jennings was in business years before the Walker Brothers, but chiefly in the home-manufacturing line, in connection with his extensive stock dealing and butchering. As the great home-manufacturer of Utah, he filled a sphere of usefulness to the community, not only in starting several branches of home industries, upon which the very life and prosperity of communities depend, but also thus emphasizing the home policy of the Mormon leaders. In this Jennings has been the exception to all the other merchants, both Mormon and Gentile, particularly when speaking of the earlier times. Until the opening of the mines, he alone was the merchant-apostle of home industries, and even then, true to his precedents, he became a railroad builder with Brigham Young, and has moved with sagacity towards the development of the solider resources and capacities of the Territory.

Thus William Jennings has risen above the mere home-manufacturer to the merchant, the banker and the railroad director. His great hit as a merchant was in 1864, the year in which he built his "Eagle Emporium." Major Burrows had brought to Salt Lake City a mammoth train of goods, worth half a million dollars, at a wholesale bargain, which he desired to sell to *one* house. Jennings was the only one who could dare the venture at that period, and this he did against the earnest protest of his business managers, who feared so great a risk. He purchased the half a million's worth, and "came to time" handsomely. It was the luckiest hit of his life, for, independent of large profits, it raised him at once among the great merchants of America, and enhanced the commercial standing of Utah herself. He says this was his chief object in purchasing that train of goods, rather than the temptation of a bargain. From that time Jennings was the merchant prince of Utah, and he held the sceptre until he resigned it to Brigham Young, as President of "Zion's co-operative Mercantile Institution."

Undoubtedly Mr. Jennings' greatest service to the Mormon people, and especially his value to President Young, was in the establishment of that famous institution. This is more apparent from the fact that the President had to force it in the face of a commercial rebellion. The great merchant was of more service to him at that moment than a quorum of Elders.

Mr. Jennings is a lover of home magnificence. To his examples Salt Lake City owes greatly its fine solid appearance of to-day. With his Eagle Emporium he commenced the collossal improvements of Main Street, in which he was followed by William S. Godbe and the Walker Brothers. His home is quite palatial, and, during the last few years, many of our most distinguished visitors, including President Grant, have partaken of his hospitality.

Jennings is again in business with his sons in the Eagle Emporium, where the family will very likely flourish as merchant princes for several generations.

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## JUDGE PYPER.

With the general approbation of all classes of citizens, in 1874, Alderman **Alexander Pyper** was appointed Judge of the Police Court of Salt Lake City. The appointment of Judge Pyper to this

important position was very acceptable to the Gentiles and seceders, for he bore a character of unswerving impartiality. True, he was a Mormon, but, in his own words, the stamp of his administration had been given. He said: "My education and re-
" ligion have taught me to deal fairly and justly
" towards all men, *under the law*, irrespective of
" their conditions or opinions, and regardless of
" offences."

It was also peculiarly satisfactory to the "authorities" that Judge Pyper was so acceptable to the general public on the retirement of Judge Clinton, for there was at that moment a fast growing desire among all classes to see the city under a management suitable to the changed times, and especially to have an unsectarian administration of the law. The Third United States Judicial Court had become quite an ecclesiastical inquisition, where the constant questions put by the United States Prosecuting Attorney, and allowed by the Chief Justice, and indeed often put by him, especially in "McKean's reign," were: "Are you a Mormon? Have you
" been through the Mormon Endowment House?
" Do you *believe* that polygamy is a divine revela-
" tion?" &c. This became so finely drawn between the Chief Justice and the Prosecuting Attorney that it had no practical limit to the person guilty of the act of polygamy, but was extended to those merely guilty of the condition of *faith* in Mormonism. And these questions were also constantly put not only to jurors, but to applicants for United States citizenship. It was this condition of things that rendered Judge Pyper's words just quoted so perti-

nent; and in all his administration he has made good those words.

Judge Pyper is a native of Ayreshire, Scotland. He emigrated to the United States when a boy, and subsequently graduated at Jones' Commercial College, of St. Louis, Mo.

From 1853 to 1858 he conducted a very successful mercantile business at Council Bluffs, Iowa, and at Forence, Nebraska, being one of the principal founders of the last-named place,—and assisted in the church emigration matters at that point, under the direction of H. S. Eldridge, for a period of four years. He moved to Utah in 1859, and in 1860 built a chemical manufacturing laboratory, producing, in large quantities, a number of useful articles, used principally in home manufactures.

He was elected alderman for the fifth municipal precinct of Salt Lake City in 1866, which position he has held ever since. In 1834, by appointment of the city council, he assumed the duties of Judge of the Police Court, as before mentioned.

## NICHOLAS GROESBECK.

This gentleman is one of the principal capitalists of Utah, and the builder of the handsomest hotel in the Territory. The "Wahsatch Hotel" is already an ornament to the city, and when it is completed it will present a magnificent appearance, quite worthy any of the great cities of America.

Mr. Groesbeck is one of the old Mormons. He was born in Rensselaer County, New York, Sept. 5, 1819. His father died when he was nine years old, leaving him self-dependent. He embraced Mormonism at the age of nineteen, and emigrated to Springfield, Ill., in the Fall of 1839, just at the time the Mormons were settling in Illinois, after being driven from Missouri. There he lived till 1856, when he emigrated to Utah, just before the Utah war. In the Spring of 1857 he was sent to Independence, as an agent of the Y. X. Company, to forward the mail. He sent on the news of the Buchanan expedition, and coming home had quite an adventure with General Johnston and his soldiers. In his train he had thirty-nine kegs of powder. The General refused to give him a pass, and at Platte Bridge he was forced to dispose of his train and "flee to the mountains" on mules. In the Fall of 1858 he bought the valuable piece of property where now stand "Groesbeck's buildings." In 1869 he commenced mining in Cottonwood Canyon, and was one of the original company who developed the Flagstaff Mine. He went to New York to sell this mine in 1871. Having stayed there all the Summer without success, he went to London, where he sold the Flagstaff for one hundred thousand pounds. This gave him a first-class place among moneyed men, the Flagstaff having belonged solely to the Groesbeck family. He returned to Utah in the Spring of 1872, when he commenced the building of his grand hotel. When finished it will have cost two hundred thousand dollars, which tells something of the change wrought in the Great American Desert since the Mormon pioneers entered these valleys, with scarcely seed enough for the first planting. The Wahsatch Hotel will have a frontage of over 190 feet on the Main Street, and 155 on the side street, it being the opposite corner of the block where stands the colossal store and bank of the Walker Brothers, which once terminated the business part of Main Street. The Groesbeck Buildings, therefore, form an extension to this street of merchants, comprising, as it does, eight handsome stores, while the grand National Bank of Deseret, and the immense store now being built by Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution carries Main Street a block above the old commercial marks; these extensions at both ends giving promise that this street will some day be worthy a metropolitan city.

Groesbeck is largely interested in the mining enterprises of the Territory, and at present especially in the development of coal and iron, for which Utah is destined to be almost as famous as Pennsylvania. He is a director in the Great Western Iron Co., of which John W. Young is President; owner of a vast coal mine, and a director in several railroad companies.

## WALKER BROTHERS.

The career of the Walker Brothers has constituted no inconsiderable part of the commercial history of Utah. In their sphere they are pre-eminently among her founders.

In September, 1852, four brothers, with their mother, arrived in Salt Lake City. SAMUEL SHARP WALKER, born September 22d, 1834; JOSEPH ROBINSON WALKER, born August 29th, 1836; DAVID FREDERICK WALKER, born April 19th, 1838; and MATTHEW HENRY WALKER, born January 16th, 1845; all of the town of Yeadon, Yorkshire, England.

On their arrival in Salt Lake City, the three brothers, "Sharp," "Bob" and "Fred," as they are familiarly known to the people, although yet in their teens, at once courageously entered into the purposes of life with the energy and decision of men; for the death of their father at St. Louis the previous year, with the death also of their two only sisters, had thrown upon the elder brothers the responsibility of the family.

At the period that the Walker Brothers commenced their career in Utah, all the channels of civilized life were unopened, and all the opportunities of enterprise were yet to be created. Commerce was not even born, and trade was barely known in its most primitive forms.

Beginning in the most primitive manner, by peddling and clerking, they gradually acquired money and experience, the result of which is now manifest in a decided commercial success.

The establishment of Camp Floyd, and the presence of an army of three thousand men with a train of camp followers, gave to the Utah merchants their first golden opportunity. From this event dates the commencement of the commercial era proper. The presence of that army, with its train of reckless adventurers, gamblers and desperadoes, was certainly demoralizing from a social standpoint, but, nevertheless, by it a commercial life was infused into the Territory, which it did not previously possess.

It was at Camp Floyd that the Walker Brothers began business as a firm. At first Mr. "Fred" Walker kept store there for William Nixon, but in the year 1859 the three older brothers built a store for themselves. By their frugality, perseverance and integrity they soon established themselves as among the rising merchants of Utah. Once fairly started, the business grew rapidly, and in the Spring of 1860 they opened a branch store in Salt Lake City. After the evacuation of Camp Floyd this latter store became their headquarters.

It is the Mormon and Apostate merchants, and not the Gentiles, who have accomplished the gathering of wealth into the Territory for themselves and the people. Their homes were in Utah, their destiny with the people of Utah, their own growth and lasting fortunes in the legitimate development of her enterprises. Indeed, they could neither grow, as a class, in social importance, nor work out any considerable material prosperity for themselves without doing the same for the entire community. This was bound to be the case whether they remained Mormons or became apostates; and it is a singular fact that the apostates have done quite as much to create wealth for the people, to develop the native resources of Utah, and to bring in foreign capital and enterprise, as those who have remained under ecclesiastical guidance. Yet each of the two classes has been doing its proper part in the great work of social progress and civilization. The one has been the propelling power which has pushed the Territory into new directions; the other has been the conservative power, which has consolidated and appropriated the natural changes as they came along.

The enterprises of the Walkers since 1869–70 have been largely in connection with the mines of Utah. They were really the men who gave by their wealth an irresistible start to the mining industries of the country. It can easily be seen how since that time they have multiplied the material wealth of the Territory, and contributed to the general prosperity of the people; their enterprises being directed to the working of the mines rather than to speculation in the sale of stocks.

But in 1860, when the Walkers built their first store in Salt Lake City, there were no mining industries to form the basis of commercial life. It was not possible to open the mines at that early day, for there was neither capital to work them nor railroads to transport the ore. In fact, there was barely capital enough in the Territory to supply even the better classes with the commonest necessities. Herein lay the first commercial difficulties of all the early merchants.

The Walker Brothers were pre-eminently the men who grappled with these difficulties and opened the door for exportation. Fortunately Nevada, Montana, Idaho, and Colorado were springing up into importance as mining Territories, and they needed just what Utah was capable of furnishing, namely, food. The Walkers, in catering to that demand, exchanging "States goods" for the produce of the Mormon farmers, gave force and direction to home enterprise, and materially helped to establish a condition of commercial prosperity in Utah.

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## WILLIAM S. GODBE.

William S. Godbe was born in London, England, June 26th, 1833. In his early youth he went to sea, but, after having visited several foreign countries, spending some time in France, Germany, and Denmark, and being shipwrecked twice, he gave up his nautical life and started for America. He had previously become connected with the Mormons, and his adventurous mind was charmed with the history of the migrations of that strange people, and the wonderful work which they were performing in the Great American Desert. Landing in New York, young Godbe, for he was but a stripling, boldly set out to walk the entire distance to Salt Lake City. Excepting the journey from Buffalo to Chicago, which was performed on the lakes, he measured every step of the road to the frontiers, from which point he worked his way across the plains in a merchant train. After his arrival in Salt Lake City, in 1851, he engaged with Mr. Thomas Williams, a merchant, and, in a few years, grew to be one of the substantial men of the Mormon community.

Later, however, he, together with others, becoming dissatisfied with the commercial policy of President Young, and also entertaining some opinions at variance with the polity of the Church, inaugurated an antagonistic agitation, known as the Godbe movement. (See mention elsewhere). His history since that time, so far as the Church is concerned, has been that of a consistent as well as persistent opponent of Brigham Young. However, on all matters concerning the good fame of Utah, and the development of her resources, he has ever contended for her good honor and the welfare of her people. Especially has this been the case in the development of mining interests in Utah; for it will not be disputed that the present flattering aspect of those interests are, in a considerable degree due to his enterprise and sagacity.

Concerning Mr. Godbe's enterprise and public spirit, it may be said that, in the erection of buildings alone in Utah, he has spent a quarter of a million of dollars, given in tithing and donations $50,000, and $25,000 for the establishment of an opposition press. Since his first journey to Salt Lake he had crossed the plains twenty-four times before the completion of the Pacific Railroad; has been four times to Europe, the last time on business of great importance, having formed an alliance with some of the wealthiest and most influential operators in England for the futherance of their mutual interests,—their object being to secure from among the mines of Utah some of the most promising and productive ones, in view of placing them on the English and other markets for sale.

In this new and vastly enlarged field of action, Mr. Godbe will doubtless display the same energy which has characterized him from his youth, and already made him one of the most enterprising and substantial pioneers of the great West.

The Chicago Silver Mining Company, Limited, was organized by Mr. Godbe in London, in the Spring of '73, and has proved, under his efficient management, the only successful English company in Utah. In July, '75, additional permanence was given to this company by the acquisition of the celebrated Queen of the Hills and Flavilla Mines, since which period their net profits have averaged no less than $20,000 a month, while their disbursements for labor, fuel, &c., have been more than double that sum, or at least half a million per annum.

Whatever the merits of the case of the Godbeites *vs.* the Church of Latter-day Saints, it is but just to say, Mr. Godbe is still true to the destiny that impelled him to take a leading part in the up-building of Utah.

## HENRY W. LAWRENCE.

HENRY W. LAWRENCE was born July 18th, 1835, near Toronto, Canada.

When Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, took his mission to Canada, he, with John Taylor, who had joined the Church in the British province, visited Toronto, and among their converts were Edward Lawrence and Margaret his wife, the parents of the subject of this sketch. In 1838 the Lawrences moved to Illinois to join the body of the Saints, but in 1840 the father died at Lima, from which place the family removed to Nauvoo. In 1850 the mother and her children crossed the plains to Salt Lake City.

After having served as a clerk for several of the pioneer firms, Mr. Lawrence, in the Spring of 1859, went into business with his brother-in-law, John B. Kimball, a Gentile, who was known as a prominent merchant of Salt Lake City before the period of the Utah war. Soon the firm of Kimball & Lawrence became famous both at "home and abroad," for its commercial integrity, solidity and prudence. John Kimball, though a Gentile merchant, had always been on the most friendly terms with the Mormon people, to whom he was so nearly related, and was as faithful as any brother in paying tithing to the Church, and as liberal as a prince in his donations to the poor. Undoubtedly, however, it was Lawrence who gave to the firm its substantial influence with the community, for the strict moral life and uprightness of character of the young merchant, coupled with his excellent commercial ability, established him at once in the public regard and in the confidence of President Young. It should also be observed that his marriage with the niece of John B. Kimball gave to Henry a moneyed influence, as the lady brought him a considerable dower.

Mr. Lawrence was one of the prime movers in the Godbe movement, and, although dearly beloved by Brigham Young and the Church generally, he was promptly "cut of," along with Godbe and others.

Nevertheless, Henry W. Lawrence, for his integrity, is respected by all classes of the people of Utah, and by no man more so than by President Young, who to this day regrets the necessity that compelled their separation.

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## WM. C. STAINES.

Wm. C. Staines was born in Higham Ferries, Northamptonshire, England, September 26th, 1818. In 1841, on his birthday, he first listened to the preaching of a Mormon elder (Geo. J. Adams), and in the following Nov. was baptized. He was shortly thereafter ordained, and did some preaching up to the time of his leaving Liverpool for America, —Jan. 18th, 1843. He reached Nauvoo, via New Orleans, in April of that year. Was in the first company that left Nauvoo in 1846, and arrived in the Valley Sept. 14th, 1847. Was made a president of one of the quorums of Seventies, and in the Fall of 1859 was sent to Europe on mission, taking charge of the London conference until the Spring of 1863, when he was called to assist Elder Horace S. Eldridge in the New York office of the emigration. In 1864 he served in the same capacity under Jos. A. Young, and the year following under H. B. Clawson, since which time he has been in charge.

The duties and service of the emigration agent of the Mormon Church are of the most important and responsible kind. This is readily appreciated in view of the emphatically patriarchal character and condition of the Mormon emigrations from Europe. Gathered mostly from the rural districts of Great Britain and Scandinavia, many of them never before having gone more than ten or twenty miles from their birthplaces, the people have been very much like grown-up children leaving their native lands. Who more than they needed a father in the emigration agent appointed to receive them when they reached this side of the Atlantic? For nearly fifteen years the Mormon people have had such a father in the person of William C. Staines, who has been quite a chief apostle of President Young in the execution of his great emigrational movement that has peopled the valleys of the Rocky Mountains.

William C. Staines has emigrated from this side of the Atlantic to Utah nearly forty thousand souls. He receives them on their landing in America, and has in readiness special trains to take them in companies immediately west, so that no expense is incurred by delays in New York. No "runners" or emigration pirates are allowed to break in among the Mormon companies, who are kept strictly in their family-like capacity during the few hours they remain in New York, and then the agent oversees them to the last moment of their start west per train, so that the emigrants scarcely realize what it is to be in a strange land.

During all these years in the "gathering" of the tens of thousands of his people, William C. Staines has not only been an emigration father to the Saints, but a very efficient and successful agent in the conduct of the vast and complicated business connected therewith. It is this, with his general fitness for the service, which has kept him so long in the trust, for President Young never continues in the management of important church affairs any but successful men; and especially would he not in the superintendence of the emigrations of his people. The fact that Mr. Staines has been thus continued year after year by President Young is the very best testimonial that could be possibly presented of him.

In years gone by there have been a few mishaps in the Mormon emigrations, but none since Mr. Staines took charge. He has done more emigrational business than any other man, and has done it most satisfactory to the Presidency, to the people and to the railroad companies concerned. Not only does he see that all things are right at New York, but on every branch of the route,—often making trips to see that all is properly managed for the well-being of the emigrants, and sometimes to "put matters straight." If anything turns up to the discomfort of the people, or is likely to turn up, the railroad managers hear of it sharply. The great business which he has done in emigration gives him the prestige to speak as "a man having authority."

William C. Staines has been repeatedly mentioned in the chapters of this book in connection with some of its most interesting episodes.

## AMOS M. MUSSER.

The Utah telegraph lines are the work of President Young and his chief assistants, among whom is AMOS MILTON MUSSER, the General Superintendent of the Deseret Telegraph.

As early as 1861, President Young resolved to connect all the settlements of Utah by a regular home telegraph system. This was more an enterprise as the head of his people and the founder of Utah, than as a mere incorporator of a telegraph company. The necessities of his calling as the counselor of the entire community required it. An immense achievement would be wrought both for the Territory and the Church, in his being able to sit in his own office at Salt Lake City and communicate in a few hours with every bishop in the Territory, if required.

In January, 1867, the Utah Legislature incorporated the "Deseret Telegraph Company." The corporators were Brigham Young, Edward Hunter, A. M. Musser, E. D. Woolley, A. H. Raleigh, John Sharp, William Miller, J. W. Hess, A. J. Moffit and Robert Gardener.

The first circuit completed required 500 miles of wire, 320 pounds to the mile, which was brought to Salt Lake City by ox teams, at a cost of 35 cents per pound. The line, completed, cost about $150 per mile. Years before this President Young had furnished and set the poles for some 500 miles of the overland lines connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific. In the construction of the home line the bishops and people did their part with labor and means, and the 500 mile circuit was completed by the beginning of 1867, and the company assumed legal form, with A. M. Musser as its general superintendent, Brigham Young being its president and principal director. Since the completion of the main circuit the company has built some 600 miles of extensions and branches, penetrating Southern Idaho, Northern Arizona, and South Eastern Nevada; also a number of the mining camps.

Superintendent Musser is a representative Mormon. Indeed for many years he has figured very much in the character of one of the "authorities of the Church," of the bishop class. He is an American by birth, from Pennsylvania, born in 1850. He became a Mormon just before the martyrdom of the Prophet, and with his mother and sister settled in Nauvoo, in 1846. They were among the sufferers in the expulsion from that city, but he remained in that part of the country in business until 1851, arriving in Utah in September of that year, when he was given a position in the General Tithing Office.

Elder Musser has also figured as a prominent person among the missionaries of his Church. In the Fall of 1852, with eight other elders, he was called to a mission to Hindostan. This was at a great missionary period, when President Young attempted to carry out Joseph's instructions to mission all the world, including Heathendom. At this conference there were called some forty elders for missions to Hindostan, China, Australia, Siam and the Sandwich Islands. Elder Musser labored in Calcutta, Bombay and Kuwachee for three years, when the elders were released to return to Utah. Of course Heathendom never gave to the Mormon Church many converts, but it did afford the elders some very hard missions.

Elder Musser reached London in 1856, and remained in England laboring in the ministry till the following Spring, when he returned to Utah, being one of the principals in charge of the emigration of that year.

Since his return to Utah in 1857, he has been actively employed in promoting the chief interests of home industries; and as general traveling agent of the Church throughout the Territory, he has assisted materially in emigration, Indian matters, temple building, co-operation, &c.; and finally as superintendent of "Deseret Telegraph Company." He has also been one of the assistant Trustees-in-trust of the Church, and one of the chief men generally in carrying out President Young's movements.

## ORSON HYDE.

This famous apostle, the son of Nathan Hyde, was born in Oxford, Conn., January 8th, 1805. Of his first efforts in life, on his own account, he says:
" My first strike was to hire out at six dollars per
" month, to work in an iron foundry. * * * I
" then hired for six months to Mr. Orrin Holmes of
" Chagin (now Willoughby), to card wool, and,
" being a raw hand at the business, I could not get
" very high wages. The machines were in Kirtland.
" * * * I went to the store of Gilbert &
" Whitney, in Kirtland, to serve as clerk, where I
" continued for a year or two; then hired two carding
" machines to run for one year, the same where
" I was engaged a year or two before."

This explains how young Hyde came to be at Kirtland, afterwards the famous gathering place of the Mormons.

About that time there was a Methodist camp meeting near Kirtland, and Orson became a convert and subsequently a class leader. At about the same time he heard that a "golden Bible" had been dug out of a rock in the State of New York. It was treated, however, as a hoax; but, on reading the report, he remarked: "Who knows but that "this golden Bible may break up our religion and "change its whole features and bearing."

Soon afterwards he became a convert to the famous Sidney Rigdon, who taught baptism for the remission of sins; but Sidney becoming a convert to the Prophet Joseph, Orson Hyde, after some hesitation, embraced the "fullness of the Gospel." He soon became a minister, traveling without purse or scrip, as was the custom of the elders, and on the organization of the Twelve he was chosen one of them.

In the Spring of 1837 Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Willard Richards, Isaac Russell, John Snider and Joseph Fielding were appointed to mission England. These were the first elders to that land—indeed the first to go on any foreign mission.

In 1840 he went to Jerusalem, to consecrate the Holy Land. Alone he performed a solemn service on the Mount of Olives. The Prophet had declared Orson to be of the House of Judah; hence this singular mission.

After the death of the Prophet, while the Saints were at winter quarters, he, with Apostles Parley P.

Pratt and John Taylor, set out for Great Britain, to put the churches in order there, and returned just too late to start with the pioneers to the Rocky Mountains. On their return he was active in the re-organizing of the first presidency, and was the man who proposed Brigham Young as Joseph's successor. For a year or two he presided over the Saints in Pottowatomie County, Iowa, until the removal of the remnant of the Church. Since then he has been a presiding apostle in various settlements of Utah.

## FRANKLIN D. RICHARDS.

Franklin Dewey Richards was born in Richmond, Mass., April 2d, 1821. Here he lived with his parents until the age of ten, and was kept at school. From his tenth to his seventeenth year he worked out, on hire, towards the support of his father's family; and during this time he heard and embraced the doctrines of the Latter-day Saints. In 1838 he joined the community in Missouri in season to share with them in their cruel banishment from that State. He afterwards found employment near Quincy, Ill., until April, 1840, when he was called to the ministry. His first missions were in the United States. In 1844 he was ordained a High Priest, and was appointed on a mission to England, but was recalled on the assassination of the Prophet. He started for England, with his brother, in 1846, and at once became associated with the presidency of that great mission. In 1848 he returned with a company of emigrants, and removed his father's family from Missouri to Great Salt Lake Valley in time to help fence in the city. In Feb., 1849, he was ordained one of the Twelve Apostles, and appointed to preside over the churches in Europe, which then numbered over 30,000 members. The *Millennial Star*, which his uncle Willard had, with Parley P. Pratt, been instrumental in founding, under his management reached an issue of 23,000 weekly. It was during his presidency that the various great missions of the Continent were established by John Taylor, Lorenzo Snow and Erastus Snow, which were incorporated under the presidency of Great Britain. In 1852 he returned to Utah, and for two years actively participated in the public affairs of the Territory. In 1854 he went on mission again to Europe, and during this term he shipped from Europe *via* Liverpool about 10,000 emigrants for Utah. He returned home in 1856, and was the next year commissioned by Governor Young a Brig.-Gen. of the Nauvoo Legion. He has, from the organization of the Territory, been almost constantly a member of the Legislature. In 1866 he was for the third time appointed President of the European mission. He is now presiding at Ogden over one of the Stakes of Zion.

## CHARLES C. RICH.

Chas. C. Rich is one of the apostolic generals of Mormondom, and a descendant of the Puritan stock of America. Like Heber C. Kimball, he has shown, in his physical structure as well as in the type of his character, the real stamp that one naturally looks for in the descendants of those mighty men of God who fought for civil and religious liberty in their native England, or fled to establish their rights in the New England that they founded; so Charles C. Rich, in his youth, was an apostolic soldier, actually fighting with the sword in the "wars of the Saints" in Missouri and Illinois. In the Prophet Joseph's days he was more distinguished as General Rich than he was as a missionary preacher of the faith. Yet he was by no means ambitious for military distinction, but rather a true Christian soldier—a defender of the faith.

After the death of the Prophet, when the Saints moved to the Rocky Mountains, General Rich was chosen by President Young a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. With Apostle Amasa Lyman and a colony of Mormons he went into Southern California, and founded the settlement of San Bernardino, which prosperous city was abandoned by the Saints at the breaking out of the Utah war. This war being over, he was appointed, in 1860, to a mission to England. There he labored several years in the presidency.

Apostle Rich is a man of excellent and marked character. For his uprightness, unwavering fidelity and unblemished life, he has but few equals. He is honored by his chief, from whom probably he has never received a rebuke, and is respected by the entire community. He is a man who has (according to his faith) committed but few errors in his eventful life, and has no enemies. Of course he is a polygamic patriarch, and it may be interesting to the reader to learn that he is the father of fifty children, nearly all of whom are sons. There are, therefore, quite a tribe of Riches in Utah. He is the founder of Bear Lake County, over which he presides as an apostle.

## ORSON PRATT.

Apostle **Orson Pratt**, one of the three surviving members of the first quorum of the Twelve, was born September 19th, 1811, in Hartford, Washington Co., N. Y., and may justly lay claim to be of semi-apostolic stock,—being descended from the Puritan founders of New England.

The first quorum of the Twelve Apostles, which included Parley P. and Orson Pratt, was organized in 1835, when the Prophet Joseph gave to them the commission to preach the gospel to all the nations of the earth. In 1840, Orson, with nine of that quorum, were in England, and it fell to his lot to open a mission in Scotland. After much labor and great privation he succeeded in building up the Edinburgh conference. Subsequently he has been several times president of the European mission.

He and Erastus Snow were the two first Mormons who entered the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. For his eloquent and erudite championship of the Church, both as a speaker and writer, he is widely recognized as the Paul of Mormonism. His famous discussion with Dr. Newman has been mentioned elsewhere. He is at present the Church Historian, but also maintains with great acceptance his position, long since achieved, as the greatest preacher of the Church of Latter-day Saints.

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## PARLEY P. PRATT.

PARLEY PARKER PRATT was born in Burlington, Otsego Co., N. Y., April 12th, 1807. He was a distinguished member of the first quorum of the Twelve, and for his marked Hebraic character and tone, was accounted the Isaiah of his people. He was one of the first missionaries of the Mormon faith, and some of his early writings have been treated as standard works of the Church. In the 51st year of his age, while traveling in Arkansas, he was assassinated. An autobiography of this distinguished apostle has been published, from which may be gathered those matters of interest concerning his life and labors which, from lack of space, are necessarily excluded from this cursory sketch.

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## ERASTUS SNOW.

Apostle ERASTUS SNOW was born at St. Johnsbury, Vt., November 9th, 1818. In 1833 he became a convert to Mormonism, and two years afterwards was ordained an elder. At about this time also he left his parents and journeyed to Kirtland, Ohio, to join the Saints. From that time forward he was intimately identified with the Church, and shared in its various trials and vicissitudes. He and Orson Pratt were the first Mormons to enter the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, and visit the future site of Salt Lake City. This occurred July 21st, 1847. In 1849 he was appointed a member of the Twelve. In the same year he opened the mission to Scandinavia, beginning in Denmark, from which beginning a great work has been developed,—over 16,000 Scandinavian emigrants having since been gathered to Utah. Since that time he has engaged in numerous other missions and works for the upbuilding of the Church, in all of which undertakings he has been eminently successful.

In October 1861, he, in connection with Orson Pratt, was selected to explore the Rio Virgin country, and to take charge of a colony of several hundred families, for the purpose of opening up cotton farms in Southern Utah. The result of that expedition was the laying out of a number of towns within the next few years, with St. George as the capital, and the general opening up of the Southern country, over which Apostle Snow has since most acceptably presided.

## JOHN TAYLOR.

This distinguished apostle was born in Winthrop, Westmoreland County, Eng., Nov. 1st, 1808. He received a common school education, and remained in that country until about the year 1832, when he rejoined his father's family in Canada, to which Province they had emigrated two years previously. Before leaving England, young Taylor joined the Methodist Church, and was made a local preacher in that body. Shortly after arriving in Canada, he made the acquaintance of, and married, Miss Leonora Cannon; and in 1836, under the ministration of Parley P. Pratt, he was brought into the Church of Latter-day Saints, thereafter becoming a zealous laborer, and rapidly rising in influence and fame. In 1837 he left Canada and joined the body of the Church at Far West, where he was soon elevated to the apostleship as a member of the Twelve. On Aug. 8th, 1839, he took leave of his family, and started with Wilford Woodruff on mission to England (see account elsewhere). His especial work on this mission was to introduce the new faith into Ireland, which he did with considerable success. He returned with Brigham Young and others in 1841, and subsequently became the editor and publisher of various church newspapers and books, and was prominently identified with all of the events of moment to the Saints in those times, including a voluntary imprisonment with Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Carthage jail; and on the occasion of their assassination he received four balls in his own person.

In 1846 he joined the exodus, but while the Saints tarried on the prairies he made a trip to England, returning to winter quarters just as the pioneers started on their famous journey to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. He subsequently entered the valley with the first companies of the Saints.

In 1849 he was appointed to go on mission to Europe, and reached France in the following year, where he had a famous discussion, with three ministers, upon the principles of Mormonism, which discussion was published, eliciting much comment. He returned to Utah in 1852. In 1854 he was appointed to preside over the Eastern churches, supervise the emigration, and publish a paper. This paper, *The Mormon*, was continued under his management until 1857, when he was recalled to Salt Lake, and on account of the threatened "Buchanan war" the paper was soon discontinued. In the meantime he had been also prominent in the endeavor to get the inchoate State of Deseret admitted into the Union.

Since that time he has traveled and preached extensively throughout the Territory, and performed much literary work for the Church; also having served as Probate Judge of Utah County, and having been for many terms a member of the Utah Legislature.

## ALBERT CARRINGTON.

ALBERT CARRINGTON was born in Royalton, Windsor Co., Vt., January 8th, 1813. He graduated at Dartmouth College, in the class of 1833, and for two or three years subsequently taught school and studied law in Pennsylvania. From Pennsylvania he removed to Wisconsin, where he engaged in lead mining until 1844. In 1841 he joined the Mormon Church in Wiota, Wis., and, on the abandonment of his business in 1844, "gathered" to Nauvoo. This was at the very crisis of the troubles then occurring there, and just previous to the martyrdom of the Prophet. He was with the Saints in their exodus, crossing the Mississippi, with his family, on the 9th of February, 1846, thus being one of the first to start for the Rocky Mountains. He was of the camp on Sugar Creek, went to Council Bluffs with the "Camp of Israel," and was a member of the band of pioneers. He returned with President Young to gather the main body of the Saints, and journeyed to the mountains with them in 1848.

After the organization of Utah Territory he was repeatedly elected a member of the Council until 1868, when he was sent to England, to preside over the European mission.

For twenty years, when at home, he has been President Young's secretary. Bearing in mind that Brigham is a Napoleonic character, and that he has directed Mormondom throughout the world, it is easy to understand that his secretary must be no ordinary man. This is also indicated by the title which the anti-Mormons have given him:—"The Mormon Wolsey."

Several years ago he was elevated to the rank of an apostle. He is now again presiding over the British mission.

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## JOSEPH F. SMITH.

Apostle J. F. SMITH was born Nov. 13th, 1838, at Far West, Caldwell Co., Mo. He is a son of Hyrum Smith, who, with his brother Joseph, was assassinated in Carthage jail; and his youth was spent amid the scenes and vicissitudes incident to the journeying of the Church from Nauvoo, and the early settlement of Utah.

In 1854 he went on mission to the Sandwich Islands, where he labored with very encouraging success. "According to promise," says he, "and "by the blessing of the Almighty, I acquired the "language of the islanders, and commenced my "labors, preaching, baptizing, etc., among the na-"tives, in one hundred days after my arrival at "Honolulu." He returned in time to engage in the campaign against the U. S. army, in the Spring of 1858, and was on duty in the Utah militia up to the time that Johnston's army entered the Valley. In 1860 he went on mission to England, returning in 1863; and in 1864 again went to the Sandwich Islands, in company with Elders E. T. Benson, L. Snow, W. W. Cluff, and A. L. Smith, remaining about one year. In 1865 he was elected a member of the House of Representatives of the Utah Legislature, and was returned in 1866-7-8-9-'70 and '72.

In 1866 he was ordained an apostle, and in '67 was called to fill a vacancy in the quorum of the Twelve.

He has served several terms in the Council of Salt Lake City, and once in the same capacity in the City of Provo, where he resided a portion of the year 1868. During 1874 and a part of '75, he presided over the British mission, and had charge of the church emigration, etc. In Nov., '75, he was appointed to preside in Davis County, Utah, in which duty he is now engaged. As an expression of his fidelity to the faith, his own words will testify:—"I am as confident of the divine mission of "Joseph Smith as I am of my own existence," and concerning his practice it is proper to say that his life has been one of labor, of self-denial, and of earnest solicitude for the salvation of mankind.

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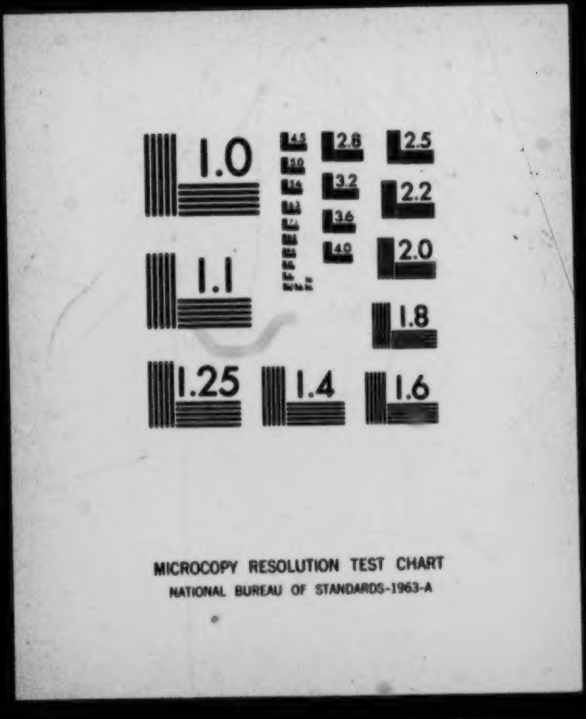

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